AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

PROBABLE METHODS

Of making a

People Gainers

IN THE

Ballance of Trade.

Treating of these Heads, *viz.*

Of the People of *England.*

Of the Land of *England*, and its Product.

Of our Payments to the Publick, and in what manner the Ballance of Trade may be thereby affected.

That a Country cannot increase in Wealth and Power but by private Men doing their Duty to the Publick, and but by a steady Course of Honesty and Wisdom, in such as are trusted with the Administration of Affairs.

By the Author of

The Essay on Ways and Means.

Inter quæ L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta judicia, sævitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se, & cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito & longinquo rure testabatur. Simul Curiam relinquebat. Tacit. lib. 2. Annal.

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THIS

THIS Book being Printed in haſte, theſe Errors have eſcaped the Correction of the Preſs, which the Reader is deſired to mend with his Pen.

ERRATA.

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AN ESSAY UPON THE PROBABLE METHODS Of making a People Gainers IN THE Ballance of Trade.

SECT. I.

THE Writer of theſe Papers ſtands in a manner engag'd to ſay ſomething upon this Subject, having in his Diſcourſes, publiſh'd laſt Year, promis'd to handle ſeveral

Points concerning the Ballance of Trade; to which Deſign he was principally induc'd by the peruſal of ſome Calculations then communicated to him by *Gregory King* Eſq; *Lancaſter* Herald.

The *Eſſay upon Ways and Means*, and the Diſcourſes lately ſet forth *On the Revenues*, and *On the Trade of* England, did meet with ſo good a Reception from the beſt ſort of Men, that he finds himſelf encourag'd once more to offer to the Publick his Obſervations of the like Nature; from which, if any thing can be gather'd that may promote, or that will hereafter tend to the Welfare and Proſperity of his Country, he ſhall think his Labours well rewarded.

'Tis true, his Computations were attacked, ſometime after they were publiſh'd, by two Pamphlets; but ſo impotently, that he thinks he cannot do himſelf greater Right, than to deſire that all People who give themſelves the trouble to read his Writings, would likewiſe be pleas'd to peruſe Mr. *P. R*———*y*'s Obſervations, and Mr. *T. E*———*d*'s Remarks upon the ſaid Books. And he doubts not, but that any Impartial Reader, by comparing the Schemes together, and by duly weighing the Arguments of both ſides, will think theſe Anſwerers have

have rather ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd, than ſhaken his Foundations.

'Tis an eaſie matter to pick out of any Book, here and there, ſomething to Cavil at; which is the common Method taken by the little Scriblers of the Town of Anſwering, as they call it, a Writer; but all Judicious Men know that an able Author proceeds quite another way; and if his Adverſary has advanc'd a wrong Propoſition, or a falſe Hypotheſis, he ſets up ſomething in the room of what he would pull down, he offers another Propoſition or Hypotheſis, which ſhall viſibly be truer, wiſer and better founded: All other arguing (eſpecially where any new Matter has been advanc'd) being but wretched Sophiſtry, that carries with it no Conviction. What has been here ſaid, is all the Reply the Writer of theſe Papers deſigns to make to the two foremention'd Pamphlets and their Authors, who (whatever they may be good for elſe) have ſhown by their Works, that Figures and Calculations, about the King's Revenue, are very little their Province.

He thought it might be of uſe (in the heat of a War that had then the appearance of laſting a great while) to propoſe *Ways and Means* by which Taxes

might be laid more equally, and by conſequence more lightly upon the People: And when the Peace was concluded, he believ'd he might do his Country Service to treat of the *Publick Revenues* and of the *Trade of* England, the quiet Times which the King's Valour and Wiſdom had newly procur'd, ſeeming moſt ſeaſonable to propoſe ſome kind of Remedy for thoſe Diſorders in the Adminiſtration, which a War of ſuch length had undoubtedly occaſion'd. In the Tracts therefore which he publiſh'd laſt Year, he handled *Credit*, *The King's Revenues*, *The Publick Debts and Engagements*; and in the ſecond Volume ſeveral Points relating to Trade, thereby to give ſome View, what Improvements this Nation was capable of, under a careful and ſteady Management.

And having deeply imprinted in his Mind, the Notion that all our Thoughts, Endeavours and Deſignments ſhould tend to the Good and Welfare of our Country; and being convinc'd, that even where Abilities are wanting, the very Intentions are commendable and virtuous, he is reſolv'd to continue his Studies upon the ſame Subject, and to look yet farther into the Condition and Poſture of this Kingdom.

He

He is now indeed call'd up to a Station, wherein he has the opportunity of delivering his Thoughts concerning the Buſineſs of *England* another way than by his Pen; but 'tis many Years ſince he had the Honour to ſit in Parliament; and he doubts very much, whether he ſhall be able to arrive at any degree of expreſſing himſelf readily and well; without which, the beſt and moſt uſefull Matter loſes all its Energy and Effect, before a great Aſſembly. Writing and Speaking are Talents very different; a tolerable Stile may be attain'd to by great Application and Diligence, but Elocution is a Gift (and if employ'd to honeſt Uſes) one of the greateſt Bounties Nature can beſtow upon a Man: He who has not the Seeds of it within him, ſhall never come at it by Art or Labour; and (which perhaps is not vulgarly obſerv'd) Writing much extinguiſhes the Faculty of Talking well off hand, in ſome Perſons who would otherwiſe have a competent Share thereof; for if the Writer be of any Form, he accuſtoms himſelf to a Correctneſs and a Choice of Words: And this Nicety and Care beget a diffidency in him which is altogether inconſiſtent with the Happineſs of Speaking well in Publick. Such

therefore, as fear they cannot deliver their Thoughts well and clearly another way, muſt commit them to Writing, in order to make whatever Qualities they have, of Service to their Country.

The Matters we have hitherto handled, have been in a manner intirely new, and ſuch wherein very little Help could be had from Books; and (it being the Intereſt of ſome Perſons of no ſmall Power in the Management of Affairs, that many Truths, important for *England* to be known, ſhould rather be conceal'd, if poſſible, in the Center of the Earth, than laid open) the Aids and Lights which might be gather'd from the publick Accompts and Offices, have been induſtriouſly with-held from all who are not ſervile Applauders of their wild and diſtructive Conduct; however, he will proceed on with his Work, notwithſtanding the potent Malice of ſuch Men, utterly indifferent how much his Inquiries offend them, provided they yield any Benefit to the King and Kingdom.

His Aim always has been and ever ſhall be, to ſhew how the Wealth and Strength of *England* is to be ſecur'd and improv'd; to ſet the Matters thereunto conducing in a true Light; to inſtill into the Minds of young Gentlemen a deſire of looking into

into the Revenues and Trade of the Nation; that having therein an inſight themſelves, they may not be, in ſome future Reign, inſnar'd by the wicked Arts of falſe and rapacious Miniſters, who will be ever craving for large Supplies, but careleſs how they waſt the publick Treaſure; who will be always coveting new Fonds, which they will lay by as ſo much Lumber of the State, when they have borrow'd all they can upon 'em, not minding how any new Branch is manag'd; who will be for ſhearing the Sheep as many times as they can, every Year, without any care of the Flock, or how the Fleece ſhall grow again; and who will be for pulling down the Common-wealth, ſo they may build up their own Fortunes.

It ſhall not be here argu'd, whither the Skill of Phiſick be now brought to Perfection, or whether it is yet capable of further Improvements; but this may be ſafely pronounc'd, That the Knowledge of the Sinews, Muſcles, Arteries and Veins, with the late diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood and all the Parts of Anatomy, conduce very much to render this dark Science more plain and certain.

In the ſame manner, ſuch as would underſtand the Body-Politick, its true Conſtitution, its State of Health, its Growth or Decay, its Strength or Weakneſs, and how to apply Remedies to the various Diſtempers to which it is incident, muſt ſtudy and look narrowly into all the diſtinct parts of the Commonwealth, its Trade, the Current Mony, (which is its flowing Blood) the Arts, Labour and Manufactures, and the number of its People; with many other things which altogether are the Members of which the great Body is compos'd.

From theſe Topicks, to reaſon upon Matters of Government, has been the Method we have hitherto taken, and which we ſhall perſue in the following Tract; and the way we go of arguing and concluding upon things by Figures, being in a manner new, and made uſe of but by two or three before us, and that too but very ſuperficially, 'tis hop'd Grains of Allowance will be made, and that we ſhall be look'd npon as Beginners of an Art not yet Poliſh'd, and which Time may bring to more Perfection.

In all Arts and Sciences, the firſt Inventions have been rude and unskilfull: Very antiently, the *Ægyptains* knew ſome-

ſomething of Geometry, and the *Aſſyrians* of Aſtronomy; but as well theſe, as all other parts of Knowledge, were but a ſhapeleſs Body, till brought into ſome Form by the artfull Hands of *Pherecides*, *Thales*, *Anaximander* and *Pythagoras*; and yet Philoſophy had neither Strength nor Beauty, till it was further improv'd in the three ſucceſſive Schools of *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*.

What has been here ſaid of ſublimer Things, holds as well in Speculations of an inferiour Nature, and in Arts meerly Mechanical, whoſe firſt Principles and Rudiments muſt be imperfect. But if this our manner of Inquiring into Matters that relate to Polity and Government, be found any ways Inſtructive and Beneficial to the Publick, we hope hereafter to be follow'd by abler Hands, who ſhall finiſh what we are but beginning.

We have formerly ſaid, * *That to find out the true Ballance of Trade, in order to adapt thereunto our Laws and Form of Living, would bring as much Wealth to this Country, as is requiſite to render a Nation ſafe and happy. That an exact Ballance between Us and every diſtinct Place, perhaps cannot by any humane Skill be attain'd to; and that it is not certain whether a Scrutiny ſo very Nice, would be of any Uſe. But that without*

* *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues and Trade*, part 2d p. 331.

out doubt, a general State of this Matter, form'd upon ſtrict Enquiry, with Deliberation and Skill; and ſuch a one as would carry with it a Demonſtration of being ſomewhat near the Truth, muſt be a great Help to the Rulers and Miniſters of a Country, and a good Guide in many important Councils.

That we have been heretofore large Gainers by Trade, is manifeſt from the expenſive War we were able to carry on for ſo many Years; and tho' to find out in what Particulars we got or loſt, may be very difficult; yet to give ſome general View of the matter may not be impoſſible: And we ſhall endeavour to ſhew from whence ſuch may take their Riſe, who would have ſome Proſpect of a thing ſo vaſt and that ſeems at ſuch a diſtance.

And albeit to know the *Quantum* of our yearly Gains, may not perhaps ſo much import the State; yet to be watchful that we do not loſe, waſt and impair from time to time, muſt certainly be the concern of every one who loves his Country; and as it behoves private Men frequently to Ballance their Accompts, and to ſee how their Condition ſtands; ſo without doubt, it is a Duty incumbent upon thoſe who are in Power, very often to contemplate the Poſture of the Nation, in order to this, that grow-

growing Miſchiefs may have a ſudden Cure.

As the Wealth of all kinds ſtor'd up in this Kingdom was of late our chief Support, ſo what we are hereafter to get, muſt defend us againſt the Accidents at home and abroad, to which all Governments are liable; and upon this Account the Motions of Trade ought to be obſerv'd with a ſtrict and careful Eye.

And we owe it to our Country to communicate what we think may conduce to make it flouriſh; and the Men in Power ſhould encourage ſuch Attempts, at leaſt they ſhould not oppreſs nor contrive their Ruin, who employ their whole time, and impair their own Health, in ſtudying to promote the Common Good.

But they who Act upon a Principle are not eaſily diſhearten'd. In this *Eſſay* we ſhall ſet forth ſome probable Methods of making a Nation Gainers in the Ballance of Trade: And we ſhall cloſe the Diſcourſe with endeavouring to ſhow, That this Ballance is not to be put of our Side, (by which we mean that a Country cannot increaſe in Wealth and Power) but by private Men doing their Duty to the Publick, and but by a ſteady Courſe of Honeſty, Care and Wiſdom, in ſuch

ſuch as are truſted with the Adminiſtration.

The Wounds of the late War have drein'd us of ſo much Blood, and our Foreign Commerce has met with ſuch a Ruffle and Interruption in all Parts of the World, and our Neighbours grow ſo faſt upon us, ſome in Wealth, and others in Shipping and the Skill of Trade, that Poverty muſt grow upon us apace, our Naval Strength muſt decreaſe, and we muſt utterly loſe the Dominion of the Sea, unleſs the Legiſlative Authority exert it ſelf with Vigor, and interpoſe betimes to prevent our impending Ruin.

* *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues and on Trade*, Part 2d, p. 15.

We have ſaid formerly, * *That Gold and Silver are indeed the Meaſure of Trade, but that the Spring and Original of it, in all Nations, is the Natural or Artificial Product of the Country; that is to ſay, what their Land, or what their Labour and Induſtry produces.*

There is no Man that can reaſonably diſpute this Poſition; and if granted, it follows from thence, That to know rightly how the Ballance of Trade ſtands with any Nation, a due Inſpection muſt be made into their Natural or Artificial Product.

But

But this Natural or Artificial Product being moſt of it the Reſult of the Peoples Labour and Induſtry, we ſhall be ſtill in the dark as to all Inquiries of this kind, without maturely conſidering the Numbers of the People.

In theſe ſort of Speculations not only the Quantity but Quality of the Inhabitants muſt be duly ponder'd, they muſt be divided into their ſeveral Ranks and Claſſes: It muſt be diſtinguiſh'd who by their Arts, Labour or Induſtry are increaſing, and who by their Expence, Poverty, or Sloth, are decreaſing the Kingdom's Wealth. Of theſe Sub-diviſions are likewiſe to be made, of what Numbers are employ'd in the Church, in War, in the Fleets Mercantile and Warlike, in the Law, in Offices, in Merchandize, in Shop keeping and Trades, in Handicrafts; and who both of the higher and lower Degree are Perſons living upon their Eſtates; who are Freeholders, Farmers, Labouring People, Servants, Cottagers, Alms-People, and Vagrants.

The People being thus diſtributed into their proper Ranks, we are likewiſe to inquire into the Quality of the Land they are to cultivate and improve, in order to that Natural or Artificial Product which

is

is the Medium whereby a Superlucration of Wealth is to be gotten. We ſhould examin what Proportion of it is Arable, Paſture and Meadow, Woods and Coppices, Foreſts, Parks and Common, Heaths, Moors, Mountains, and barren Land, Houſes and Homeſteads, *&c.* Rivers, Lakes, Meers, Roads, Ways, and waſt Land.

The Land is to yield the Product, which Product is to yield the Wealth, ſo that we ſhould inquire how this Product ſtands in every particular, but more eſpecially in the principal conſtituent Parts of *England*'s Strength, namely Wooll, Corn, and our Mines; for 'tis by the well ordering and wiſe diſpoſition of theſe Branches of our Wealth, that we are to be Gainers in the Ballance of Trade.

We ſhall therefore handle diſtinctly theſe Heads, *viz.* the People, the Land and its Product, and ſhall endeavour to lay down ſeveral Matters, from whence (peradventure with good Grounds of Probability) ſome Concluſions may be made in relation to our preſent Subject; and becauſe Taxes influence very much in the Ballance of Trade, as will be ſhown hereafter, we ſhall likewiſe ſay ſomething concerning our Payments to the Publick.

SECT.

SECT. II.

OF THE

People of England.

THE Writer of theſe Papers has ſeen the before-mentioned Mr. *King*'s Natural and Political Obſervations and Concluſions upon the State and Condition of *England* in Manuſcript. The Calculations therein contain'd are very accurate, and more perhaps to be rely'd upon than any thing that has been ever done of the like kind. This Skilful and Laborious Gentleman has taken the right Courſe to form his ſeveral Schemes about the Numbers of the People; for beſides many different Ways of working, he has very carefully inſpected the Poll-Books, and the Diſtinctions made by thoſe Acts, and the Produce in Mony of the reſpective Polls, going every where by reaſonable and diſcreet Mediums: Beſides which Pains, he has made Obſervation

vations of the very Facts in particular Towns and Places, from which he has been able to judge and conclude more ſafely of others; ſo that he ſeems to have look'd further into this Myſtery than any other Perſon.

With his Permiſſion, we ſhall offer to the Publick ſuch of his Computations as may be of uſe, and enlighten in the Matter before us.

He lays down, That if the firſt Peopling of *England* was by a Colony or Colonies, conſiſting of a Number between a Hundred and a Thouſand People, (which ſeems probable) ſuch Colony or Colonies might be brought over between the Year of the World 2400 and 2600, *viz.* about eight or nine Hundred Years after the Flood, and fourteen or fifteen Hundred Years before the Birth of Chriſt; at which time the World might have about a Million of Families, and four or five Millions of People.

From which Hypotheſis, it will follow by an orderly Series of Increaſe,

That when the *Romans* invaded *England* fifty three Years before Chriſt's time, the Kingdom might have about 360,000 People, and at Chriſt's Birth about four hundred Thouſand.

That

That at the *Norman* Conqueſt, *Ann. Chriſt.* 1066. the Kingdom might contain ſomewhat above 2,000,000.

That *Anno* 1260. or about 200 Years after the *Norman* Conqueſt, it might contain about 2,750,000 People, or half the preſent Number: So that the People of *England* may have doubled in about 435 Years laſt paſt.

That in probability the next doubling will be in about 600 Years to come, *viz.* by the Year 2300, at which time it may have about 11,000,000 of People, and the Kingdom containing about 39 Millions of Acres, there will be then about three Acres and a half *per* Head.

That the Increaſe of the Kingdom for every hundred Years of the laſt preceding Term of doubling, and the ſubſequent Term of doubling, may have been and in probability may be, according to the following Scheme.

Anno Christi.	*Number of People.*	*Increase every hundred Years.*
1300	2,860,000	
	—	440,000.
1400	3,300,000	
	—	540,000.
1500	3,840,000	
	—	780,000.
1600	4,620,000	
	—	880,000.
1700	5,500,000	
	—	920,000.
1800	6,420,000	
	—	930,000.
1900	7,350,000	
	—	930,000.
2000	8,280,000	
	—	925,000.
2100	9,205,000	
	—	910,000.
2200	10,115,000	
	—	885,000.
2300	11,000,000.	

Whereby it may appear, That the Increase of the Kingdom being 880,000 People in the last hundred Years, and 920000 in the next succeeding hundred Years, the Annual Increase at this time may be about 9000 Souls *per Annum*.

But

But whereas the Yearly Births of the Kingdom are about 1 in 28:95, or } 190,000 Souls.

And the Yearly Burials 1 in 32:35 or } 170,000 Souls.

Whereby the Yearly Increaſe would be } 20,000 Souls.

It is to be noted,

	p. An.	
1*ſt.* That the Allowance for Plagues and great Mortalities may come to at a Medium	4000	
2*dly.* Foreign or Civil Wars at a Medium	3500	
3*dly.* The Sea conſtantly employing about 40,000 may precipitate the death of about	2500	} 11,000 *per An.*
4*thly.* The Plantations (over and above the Acceſſion of Foreigners) may carry away	1000	

Whereby the neat Annual Increaſe may be but } 9000. Souls.

That of theſe 20,000 Souls which would be the Annual Increaſe of the Kingdom by Procreation, were it not for the formention'd Abatements.

The Country Increaſes Annually by Procreation	20,000 Souls.
The Cities and Towns, exclusive of *London*, by Procreation	2000 Souls.
But *London* and the Bills of Mortality decreaſe Annually	2000 Souls.

So that *London* requires a Supply of 2000 Souls *per An.* to keep it from decreaſing, beſides a further Supply of about 3000 *per Annum* for its Increaſe at this time. In all 5000, or above a half of the Kingdoms neat Increaſe.

Mr. *King* further obſerves, That by the Aſſeſſments on Marriages Births and Burials, and the Collectors Returns thereupon, and by the Pariſh Regiſters, it appears, That the Proportions of Marriages, Births and Burials, are according to the following Scheme.

Vide Scheme A.

Whence it may be obſerv'd, That in 10,000 Co-exiſting Perſons,

There

Scheme A.

People.			
530,000	*London* and Bills of Mortality	1 in	106.
870,000	The Cities and Market Towns	1 in	128.
4,100,000	The Villages and Hamlets	1 in	141.
5,500,000		1 in	134.

Annual B

London and Bills of Mortality	1 in	26¼.	In
The Cities and Market Towns	1 in	28¾.	In
The Villages and Hamlets	1 in	29.4	In
	1 in	28.95	

Place this Scheme p. 20.

Annual Marriages.				
106.	In all--- 5000.	Producing	4..	Children each.
128.	In all--- 6800.	Producing	4.5	Children each.
141.	In all---29200.	Producing	4.8	Children each.
134.	41000.		4.64	

nual Births.		*Annual Burials.*	
¼. In all	20000.	1 in 24.1 In all	22000.
¼. In all	30600.	1 in 30.4 In all	28600.
.4 In all	139400.	1 in 34.4 In all	119400.
95	190000.	1 in 32.35	170000.

There are 71 or 72 Marriages in the Country producing 343 Children.

78 Marriages in Towns producing 351 Children.

94 Marriages in *London* producing 376 Children.

Whereby it follows,

Firſt, That tho' each Marriage in *London* produces fewer People than in the Country, yet *London* in general having a greater Proportion of Breeders, is more prolifick than the other great Towns, and the great Towns are more prolifick than the Country.

Secondly, That if the People of *London* of all Ages were as long liv'd, as thoſe in the Country, *London* would increaſe in People much faſter *pro rato* than the Country.

Thirdly, That the Reaſons why each Marriage in *London* produces fewer Children than the Country Marriages, ſeem to be

Firſt, From the more frequent Fornications and Adulteries.

Secondly, From a greater Luxury and Intemperance.

Thirdly, From a greater Intenſneſs on Buſineſs.

Fourthly, From the unhealthfulneſs of the Coal Smoak.

Fifthly, From a greater Inequality of Age between the Husbands and Wives.

Sixthly, From the Husbands and Wives not living ſo long as in the Country.

He farther obſerves, Accompting the People to be 5,500,000, That the ſaid five Millions and a half (including the Tranſitory People and Vagrants) appear by the Aſſeſſments on Marriages Births and Burials, to bear the following Proportions in relation to Males and Females, and other Diſtinctions of the People, *viz.*

Vide Scheme B.

So that the Number of Communicants is in all 3,260,000 Souls.

And the Number of Fighting Men between 16 and 60 is 1,308,000.

That the Batchelors are about 28 *per Cent.* of the whole,

Whereof thoſe under 25 Years are 25½ *per Cent.*

And thoſe above 25 Years are 2½ *per Cent.*

That the Maidens are about 28½ *per Cent.* of the whole,

Whereof

Scheme B.

	Males.		*Females.*
In *London* and Bills of Mortality ——	10	to	13.
In the other Cities and Market Towns —	8	to	9.
In the Villages and Hamlets ——	100	to	99.
	27	to	28.

That as to other Diſtinctions they appear by the ſaid

		Peopl
Husbands and Wives at above	34½ *per Cent.*	1,900,
Widowers at above ——	1½ *per Cent.*	90,
Widows at about —	4½ *per Cent.*	240,
Children at above —	45 *per Cent.*	2,500,
Servants at about —	10½ *per Cent.*	560,
Sojourners and ſingle Perſons—	4 *per Cent.*	210,
	100	5,500,

And that the different Proportions in each of the ſaid
Towns, and the Villages, may the better appear,

	London *and Bills of Mortality.*	*Souls.*	*The other Cities and great Towns.*
Husbands and Wives	37 *per Cent.*	196,100	36 *per Cent*
Widowers ——	2 *per Cent.*	10,600	2 *per Cent.*
Widows ——	7 *per Cent.*	37,100	6 *per Cent.*
Children ——	33 *per Cent.*	174,900	40 *per Cent.*
Servants —	13 *per Cent.*	68,900	11 *per Cent.*
Sojourners ——	8 *per Cent.*	42,400	5 *per Cent.*
	100	530,000	100

He further obſerves, ſuppoſing the People to be 5,500,000
dom may be 190,000, *and that the ſeveral Ages*

	In all	*M*
Thoſe under 1 year old	170,000	8
Thoſe under 5 years old	820,000	41
Thoſe under 10 years old	1,520,000	76
Thoſe under 16 years old	2,240,000	1,12
Thoſe above 16 years old	3,260,000	1,57
Thoſe above 21 years old	2,700,000	1,30
Thoſe above 25 years old	2,400,000	1,15
Thoſe above 60 years old	600,000	27
Thoſe under 16 years old	2,240,000	
Thoſe above 16 years old	3,260,000	
Total of the People	5,500,000	

Place this Scheme p. 22.

ales.	Males.	Females.	Both.
3.	230,000	300,000	530,000
9.	410,000	460,000	870,000
9.	2,060,000	2,040,000	4,100,000
8.	2,700,000	2,800,000	5,500,000

ſaid Aſſeſsments to bear theſe Proportions,

People.	Males.	Females.
1,900,000	950,000	950,000
90,000	90,000	
240,000		240,000
2,500,000	1,300,000	1,200,000
560,000	260,000	300,000
210,000	100,000	110,000
5,500,000	2,700,000	2,800,000

ſaid Articles between London, *the Great*
ear, he has form'd the following Scheme.

ther Ci-ad great s.	Souls.	*The Villages and Hamlets.*	Souls.
r Cent.	313,200	34 *per Cent.*	1,394,000
r Cent.	17,400	1½ *per Cent.*	61,500
r Cent.	52,200	4½ *per Cent.*	184,500
r Cent.	348,000	47 *per Cent.*	1,927,000
r Cent.	95,700	10 *per Cent.*	410,000
r Cent.	43,500	3 *per Cent.*	123,000
	870,000	100	4,100,000

0,000, that the yearly Births of the King-
Ages of the People may be as follows,

Males.	Females.
88,500	81,500
413,300	406,700
762,900	757,100
1,122,000	1,118,000
1,578,000	1,682,000
1,300,000	1,400,000
1,152,000	1,248,000
270,000	330,000

Scheme C.

	At a Medium
The Husbands are aged	43 years apiece, wh
The Wives	40 years apiece,
The Widowers	56 years apiece,
The Widows	60 years apiece,
The Children	12 years apiece,
The Servants	27 years apiece,
The Sojourners	35 years apiece,
At a Medium	27½

Place this Scheme p. 23.

n				years
ce,	which at	17¼	*per Cent.* makes	742
ce,	—	17¼	—	690
ce,	—	1½	— —	84
ce,	—	4½	— —	270
ce,	—	45	— —	540
ce,	—	10½	—	284
ce,	—	4	—	140
		100		2750

Scheme D. *A Scheme of the Income and Expence of the ſeveral Fam*

Number of Families.	*RANKS, DEGREES, TITLES, and QUALIFICATIONS.*	*Heads per Family.*	*Number of Perſons.*	*Yearly Income per Family.*
				l. *s.*
160	Temporal Lords	40	6,400	3,200
26	Spiritual Lords	20	520	1,300
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880
600	Knights	13	7,800	650
3,000	Eſquires	10	30,000	450
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280
5,000	Perſons in greater Offices and Places	8	40,000	240
5,000	Perſons in leſſer Offices and Places	6	30,000	120
2,000	Eminent Merchants and Traders by Sea	8	16,000	400
8,000	Leſſer Merchants and Traders by Sea	6	48,000	198
10,000	Perſons in the Law	7	70,000	154
2,000	Eminent Clergy-men	6	12,000	72
8,000	Leſſer Clergy-men	5	40,000	50
40,000	Freeholders of the better ſort	7	280,000	91
120,000	Freeholders of the leſſer ſort	5½	660,000	55
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42--10
15,000	Perſons in Liberal Arts and Sciences	5	75,000	60
50,000	Shopkeepers and Tradeſmen	4½	225,000	45
60,000	Artizans and Handicrafts	4	240,000	38
5,000	Naval Officers	4	20,000	80
4,000	Military Officers	4	16,000	60
500,586		5⅓	2,675,520	68--18
50,000	Common Seamen	3	150,000	20
364,000	Labouring People and Out Servants	3½	1,275,000	15
400,000	Cottagers and Paupers	3¼	1,300,000	6--10
35,000	Common Soldiers	2	70,000	14
849,000		3¼	2,795,000	10--10
	Vagrants; as Gipſies, Thieves, Beggars, *&c.*		30,000	
				So the general Accot
500,586	Increaſing the Wealth of the Kingdom	5⅓	2,675,520	68--18
849,000	Decreaſing the Wealth of the Kingdom	3¼	2,825,000	10--10
1,349,586	Neat Totals	4⅓	5,500,520	32-- 5

Place this Scheme p. 23.

y In- per ily.	*Yearly Income in general.*	*Yearly Income per Head.*	*Yearly Expence per Head.*	*Yearly Increase per Head.*	*Yearly Increase in general.*
s.	*l.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l.*
0	512,000	80-- 0	70-- 0	10-- 0	64,000
0	33,800	65-- 0	45-- 0	20-- 0	10,400
0	704,000	55-- 0	49-- 0	6-- 0	76,800
0	390,000	50-- 0	45-- 0	5-- 0	39,000
0	1,200,000	45-- 0	41-- 0	4-- 0	120,000
0	2,880,000	35-- 0	32-- 0	3-- 0	288,000
0	1,200,000	30-- 0	26-- 0	4-- 0	160,000
0	600,000	20-- 0	17-- 0	3-- 0	90,000
0	800,000	50-- 0	37-- 0	13-- 0	208,000
8	1,600,000	33-- 0	27-- 0	6-- 0	288,000
4	1,540,000	22-- 0	18-- 0	4-- 0	280,000
2	144,000	12-- 0	10-- 0	2-- 0	24,000
0	400,000	10-- 0	9-- 4	0--16	32,000
1	3,640,000	13-- 0	11--15	1-- 5	350,000
5	6,600,000	10-- 0	9--10	0--10	330,000
2--10	6,375,000	8--10	8-- 5	0-- 5	187,500
0	900,000	12-- 0	11-- 0	1-- 0	75,000
5	2,250,000	10-- 0	9-- 0	1-- 0	225,000
8	2,280,000	9--10	9-- 0	0--10	120,000
0	400,000	20-- 0	18-- 0	2-- 0	40,000
0	240,000	15-- 0	14-- 0	1-- 0	16,000
8--18	34,488,800	12--18	11--15-- 4	1-- 2-- 8	3,023,700
				Decrease	*Decrease*
0	1,000,000	7-- 0	7--10	0--10	75,000
5	5,460,000	4--10	4--12	0-- 2	127,500
6--10	2,000,000	2-- 0	2-- 5	0-- 5	325,000
4	490,000	7-- 0	7--10	0--10	35,000
0--10	8,950,000	3-- 5	3-- 9	0-- 4	562,500
	60,000	2-- 0	4-- 0	2-- 0	60,000
al Accompt is					
8--18	34,488,800	12--18	11--15-- 4	1-- 2-- 8	3,023,700
0--10	9,010,000	3-- 3	3-- 7-- 6	0-- 4-- 6	622,500
2-- 5	43,491,800	7--18	7-- 9-- 3	0-- 8-- 9	2,401,200

Whereof thoſe under 25 Years are 26½ *per Cent.*

And thoſe above 25 Years are 2 *per Cent.*

That the Males and Females in the Kingdom in General, are aged one with another 27 Years and a half.

That in the Kingdom in General, there is near as many People living under 20 Years of Age, as there is above twenty, whereof half of the Males is under 19, and one half of the Females is under 21 Years.

That the Ages of the People, according to their ſeveral Diſtinctions, are as follows, *viz.*

Vide Scheme C.

Having thus ſtated the Numbers of the People, he gives a Scheme of the Income and Expence of the ſeveral Families of *England*, Calculated for the Year, 1688.

Vide Scheme D.

Mr. *King*'s Modeſty has been ſo far over-rul'd, as to ſuffer us to Communicate theſe his Excellent Computations, which we can the more ſafely commend,

having examin'd them very carefully, try'd them by ſome little Operations of our own upon the ſame Subject, and compar'd them with the Schemes of other Perſons, who take Pleaſure in the like Studies.

What he ſays concerning the Number of the People to be 5,500,000 is no poſitive Aſſertion, nor ſhall we pretend any where to determin in that Matter; what he lays down is by way of Hypotheſis, That ſuppoſing the Inhabitants of *England* to have been, *Anno* 1300, Two Millions 860,000 Heads, by the orderly Series of Increaſe allow'd of by all Writers, they may probably be about *Anno* 1700 Five Millions 500,000 Heads; but if they were *An.* 1300 either leſs or more, the Caſe muſt proportionably alter; for as to his Allowances for Plagues, great Mortalities, Civil Wars, the Sea and the Plantations, they ſeem very reaſonable, and not well to be contraverted.

Upon theſe Schemes of Mr. *King*, we ſhall make ſeveral Remarks, tho' the Text deſerves much a better Comment.

The People being the firſt Matter of Power and Wealth, by whoſe Labour and Induſtry a Nation muſt be Gainers in the Ballance, their Increaſe or Decreaſe muſt be carefully obſerv'd by any Govern-

Government that deſigns to thrive; that is, their Increaſe muſt be promoted by good Conduct and wholeſome Laws, and if they have been Decreas'd by War, or any other Accident, the Breach is to be made up as ſoon as poſſible, for it is a Maim in the Body Politick affecting all its Parts.

Almoſt all Countries in the World have been more or leſs Populous, as Liberty and Property have been there well or ill ſecur'd. / The firſt Conſtitution of *Rome* was no ill founded Government, a Kingly Power limited by Laws; and the People increas'd ſo faſt, that from a ſmall beginning, in the Reign of their Sixth King, they were able to ſend out an Army of 80000 Men. And in the time of the Common-wealth, in that Invaſion which the *Gauls* made upon *Italy*, not long before *Hannibal* came thither, they were grown ſo numerous, as that their Troops conſiſted of 700,000 Foot and 70,000 Horſe; 'tis true, their Allies were comprehended in this Number, but the ordinary People fit to bear Arms, being Muſter'd in *Rome* and *Campania*, amounted to 250,000 Foot and 23,000 Horſe.

Nothing therefore can more contribute to the rendring *England* Populous and Strong,

Strong, than to have Liberty upon a right Foot, and our legal Conſtitution firmly preſerv'd. A Nation may be as well call'd free under a limited Kingſhip as in a Common-wealth, and 'tis to this good Form of our Government; that we partly owe that doubling of the People, which has probably happen'd here in the 435 Years laſt paſt. And if the Ambition of ſome, and the Mercenary Temper of others, ſhould bring us at any time to alter our Conſtitution, and to give up our ancient Rights, we ſhall find our Numbers diminiſh viſibly and faſt. For Liberty encourages Procreation, and not only keeps our own Inhabitants among us, but invites Strangers to come and live under the ſhelter of our Laws.

The *Romans* indeed made uſe of an Adventitious Help to enlarge their City, which was by incorporating Foreign Cities and Nations into their Common-wealth; but this way is not without its Miſchiefs. For the Strangers in *Rome* by degrees had grown ſo numerous, and to have ſo great a Vote in the Councils, that the whole Government began to totter, and decline from its old, to its new Inhabitants: Which *Fabius* the Cenſor obſerving, he apply'd a Remedy in time by reducing all the new Citizens into four

Machiavel's *Diſcourſes on* Livy.

four Tribes, that being contracted into ſo narrow a ſpace, they might not have ſo malignant an influence upon the City.

An Act of General Naturalization, would likewiſe probably Increaſe our Numbers very faſt, and repair what Loſs we may have ſuffer'd in our People by the late War: 'Tis a Matter that has been very warmly contended for by many good Patriots; but peradventure it carries alſo its Danger with it, which perhaps would have the leſs Influence by this Expedient, namely, If an Act of Parliament were made, That no Heads of Families, hereafter to be naturaliz'd for the firſt Generation, ſhould have Votes in any of our Elections. But as the Caſe ſtands, it ſeems againſt the Nature of right Government, that Strangers (who may be Spies, and who may have an Intereſt oppoſite to that of *England*, and who at beſt ever join in one Link of Obſequiouſneſs to the Miniſters) ſhould be ſuffer'd to intermeddle in that important Buſineſs of ſending Members to Parliament. From their Sons indeed there is leſs to fear, who by Birth and Nature may come to have the ſame Intereſt and Inclinations as the Natives.

And tho' the Expedient of *Fabius Maximus*, to contract the Strangers into four Tribes,

Tribes, might be reaſonable where the Affairs of a whole Empire were tranſacted by Magiſtrates choſen in one City, yet the ſame Policy may not hold good in *England*; Foreigners cannot influence Elections here by being diſpers'd about in the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, where they can never come to have any conſiderable ſtrength. But ſome time or other, they may endanger the Government by being ſuffer'd to remain, ſuch vaſt Numbers of 'em, here in *London*, where they inhabit all together, at leaſt 30000 Perſons in two Quarters of the Town, without inter-marrying with the *Engliſh*, or learning our Language, by which Means for ſeveral Years to come, they are in a way ſtill to continue Foreigners, and perhaps may have a Foreign Intereſt and Foreign Inclinations: To permit this, cannot be adviſeable or ſafe. It may therefore be proper to limit any new Acts of Naturalization, with ſuch Reſtrictions as may make the Acceſſion of Strangers not dangerous to the Publick.

An Acceſſion of Strangers well regulated, may add to our Strength and Numbers; but then it muſt be compos'd of Labouring Men, Artificers, Merchants and other rich Men, and not of Foreign

Foreign Soldiers, ſince ſuch fright and drive away from a Nation more People than their Troops can well conſiſt of: For if it has been ever ſeen, that Men abound moſt where there is moſt Freedom *(China* excepted, whoſe Climate excells all others, and where the exerciſe of the Tyranny is mild and eaſie) it muſt follow, that People will in time deſert thoſe Countries whoſe beſt Flower is their Liberties, if thoſe Liberties are thought Precarious or in Danger. That Foreign Souldiers are dangerous to Liberty, we may produce Examples from all Countries and all Ages; but we ſhall inſtance only one, becauſe it is eminent above all the reſt.

The *Carthaginians*, in their Wars, did very much uſe Mercenary and Foreign Troops; and when the Peace was made between them and the *Romans*, after a long Diſpute for the Dominion of *Sicily*, they brought their Army home to be Paid and Disbanded, which *Geſco* their General had the Charge of Embarking, who did order all his Part with great Dexterity and Wiſdom. But the State of *Carthage* wanting Mony to clear Arrears, and ſatisfie the Troops, was forc'd to keep them up longer than was deſign'd. The Army conſiſted of *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Baleareans* *Polybius*, Lib. 1.

leareans and *Greeks*. At firſt they were inſolent in their Quarters in *Carthage*, and were prevail'd upon to remove to *Sicca*, where they were to remain and expect their Pay. There they grew preſently corrupted with Eaſe and Pleaſure, and fell into Mutinies and Diſorder, and to making extravagant demands of Pay and Gratuities; and in a Rage, with their Arms in their Hands, they march'd Twenty Thouſand of them towards *Carthage*, incamping within 15 Miles of the City; and choſe *Spendius* and *Matho*, two profligate Wretches for their Leaders, and impriſon'd *Geſco* who was deputed to 'em from the Common-wealth. Afterwards they caus'd almoſt all the *Affricans*, their Tributaries, to revolt; They grew in a ſhort time to be 70,000 ſtrong; They fought ſeveral Battles with *Hanno* and *Hamilcar Barcas*. During theſe Tranſactions, the Mercenaries that were in Garriſon in *Sardinia* mutinied likewiſe, murdering their Commander and all the *Carthaginians*; while *Spendius* and *Matho*, to render their Accomplices more deſperate, put *Geſco* to a cruel Death, preſuming afterwards to lay Siege to *Carthage* it ſelf. They met with a Shock indeed at *Prion*, where 40,000 of them were ſlaughter'd; but ſoon after

ter this Battle, in another, they took one of the *Carthaginian* Generals Priſoner, whom they fix'd to a Croſs, crucifying thirty of the principal Senators round about him. *Spendius* and *Matho* were at laſt taken, the one crucified and the other tormented to death: But the War laſted three Years and near four Months with exceſſive Cruelty; in which the State of *Carthage* loſt ſeveral Battles, and was often brought within a Hairs breadth of utter Ruin.

If ſo great a Common-wealth as *Carthage*, though aſſiſted at that time by *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe*, and by the *Romans*, ran the hazard of loſing their Empire, City and Liberties, by the Inſurrection of a handful of Mercenaries, whoſe firſt Strength was but 20,000 Men; it ſhould be a warning to all Free Nations, how they ſuffer Armies ſo compos'd to be among them; and it ſhould frighten a Wiſe State from deſiring ſuch an Increaſe of People, as may be had by the bringing over Foreign Souldiers.

Indeed, all Armies whatſoever, if they are over large, tend to the diſpeopling of a Country, of which our Neighbour Nation is a ſufficient Proof; where in one of the beſt Climates in *Europe*, Men are wanting to Till the Ground.

For

For Children do not proceed from the intemperate Pleaſures taken looſly and at random, but from a regular way of Living, where the Father of the Family deſires to rear up and provide for the Off-ſpring he ſhall beget.

Securing the Liberties of a Nation, may be laid down as a Fundamental for increaſing the Numbers of its People; but there are other Polities thereunto conducing, which no Wiſe State has ever neglected.

No Race of Men did multiply ſo faſt as the *Jews*, which may be attributed chiefly to the Wiſdom of *Moſes* their Lawgiver, in contriving to promote the State of Marriage.

The *Romans* had the ſame Care, paying no Reſpect to a Man Childleſs by his own Fault, and giving great Immunities and Priviledges, both in the City and Provinces, to thoſe who had ſuch and ſuch a number of Children. Encouragements of the like kind are alſo given in *France* to ſuch as inrich the Commonwealth by a large Iſſue.

But we in *England* have taken another Courſe, laying a Fine upon the Marriage-Bed, which ſeems ſmall to thoſe who only contemplate the Pomp and Wealth round about 'em, and in their

their View; but they who look into all the different Ranks of Men, are well ſatisfied that this Duty on Marriages and Births, is a very grevious Burthen upon the poorer Sort, whoſe Numbers compoſe the Strength and Wealth of any Nation. This Tax was introduc'd by the Neceſſity of Affairs. 'Tis difficult to ſay what may be the Event of a new thing; but if we are to take Meaſures from paſt Wiſdom, which exempted Prolifick Families from Publick Duties, we ſhould not lay Impoſitions upon thoſe who find it hard enough to maintain themſelves. If this Tax be ſuch a Weight upon the Poor, as to diſcourage Marriage and hinder Propagation, which ſeems the Truth, no doubt it ought to be aboliſh'd; and at a convenient time we ought to change it for ſome other Duty, if there were only this ſingle Reaſon, That 'tis ſo directly oppoſite to the Polity of all Ages and all Countries.

In order to have Hands to carry on Labour and Manufactnres, which muſt make us Gainers in the Ballance of Trade, we ought not to deterr but rather invite Men to marry, which is to be done by Priviledges and Exemptions, for ſuch a Number of Children, and by denying certain Offices of Truſt and Dignities to

all unmarried Perſons; and where 'tis onee made a Faſhion among thoſe of the better Sort, 'twill quickly obtain with the lower Degree.

See Scheme A. Mr. *King* in his Scheme (for which he has as Authentick Grounds, as perhaps the Matter is capable of) lays down, That the Annual Marriages of *England* are about 41,000, which is one Marriage out of every 134 Perſons: Upon which we obſerve, that this is not a due Proportion, conſidering how few of our Adult Males (in compariſon with other Countries) periſh by War or any other Accident; from whence may be infer'd, that our Polity is ſome way or other Defective, or the Marriages would bear a nearer proportion with the groſs Number of our People; for which Defect, if a Remedy can be found, there will be ſo much more Strength added to the Kingdom.

From the Books of Aſſeſſment on Births, Marriages, *&c.* by the neareſt View he can make, he divides the 5,500,000 People into 2,700,000 Males and 2,800,000 Females; from whence (conſidering the Females exceed the Males in Number, and conſidering that the Men marry later than Women, and that many of the Males are of Neceſſity abſent in the Wars, at Sea and upon other Buſineſs) it follows, that

a

a large Proportion of the Females remain unmarried, tho' at an Adult Age, which is a dead Loſs to the Nation, every Birth being as ſo much certain Treaſure; upon which Accompt, ſuch Laws muſt be for the Publick Good, as induce all Men to marry whoſe Circumſtances permit it.

From his Diviſion of the People, it may be likewiſe obſerv'd, That the near Proportion there is between the Males and Females (which is ſaid to hold alſo in other Places) is an Argument (and the ſtrongeſt that can be produc'd) againſt Poligamy, and the Increaſe of Mankind, which ſome think might be from thence expected; for if Nature had intended to one Man a Plurality of Wives, She would have order'd a great many more Female Births than Male, her Deſignments being always Right and Wiſe.

The ſecuring the Pariſh for Baſtard-Children, is become ſo ſmall a Puniſhment and ſo eaſily Compounded, that it very much hinders Marriage. The Dutch compel Men of all Ranks, to marry the Woman whom they have got with Child; and perhaps it would tend to the farther Peopling of *England*, if the Common People here, under ſuch a certain Degree, were condemn'd by ſome new Law to ſuffer the ſame Penalty.

A Country that makes Proviſion to increaſe in Inhabitants, whoſe Situation is good, and whoſe People have a Genius adapted to Trade, will never fail to be Gainers in the Ballance, provided the Labour and Induſtry of their People be well manag'd and carefully directed.

The more any Man contemplates theſe Matters, the more he will come to be of Opinion, That *England* is capable of being render'd one of the ſtrongeſt Nations, and the richeſt Spot of Ground in *Europe*.

'Tis not extent of Territory that makes a Country Powerful, but Numbers of Men well employ'd, convenient Ports, a good Navy, and a Soil producing all ſort of Commodities. The Materials for all this we have, and ſo improveable, that if we did but ſecond the Gifts of Nature, with our own Induſtry, we ſhould ſoon arrive to a pitch of Greatneſs, that would put us at leaſt upon an equal Foot with any of our Neighbours.

If we had the Complement of Men, our Land can maintain and nouriſh; If we had as much Trade as our Stock and Knowledge in Sea Affairs is capable of embracing; If we had ſuch a Naval Strength as a Trade ſo extended would eaſily produce; and, if we had thoſe Stores and

and that Wealth which is the certain Reſult of a large and well govern'd Traffick, what humane Strength could hurt or invade us? On the contrary, ſhould we not be in a poſture not only to reſiſt, but to give the Law to others?

Our Neighbouring Common-wealth has not in Territory above Eight Millions of Acres, and perhaps not much above two Millions two Hundred Thouſand People; and yet what a Figure have they made in *Europe* for theſe laſt hundred Years? What Wars have they maintain'd? What Forces have they reſiſted? and to what a hight of Power are they now come, and all by good Order and wiſe Government?

They are liable to frequent Invaſions; They labour under the Inconvenience and danger of bad Ports; They conſume immenſe Sums every Year to defend their Land againſt the Sea; all which Difficulties they have ſubdu'd by an unweary'd Induſtry.

We are fenc'd by Nature againſt Foreign Enemies; Our Ports are ſafe; We fear no Irruptions of the Sea; Our Land Territory at home is at leaſt 39 Millions of Acres; We have in all likelihood not leſs than Five Millions and a half of People; what a Nation might we then become, if all

theſe Advantages were throughly improv'd, and if a right Application were made of all this Strength, and of theſe Numbers?

They who apprehend the immoderate growth of any Prince or State, may perhaps ſucceed by beginning firſt, and by attempting to pull down ſuch a dangerous Neighbour, but very often their good Deſigns are diſappointed. In all appearance they proceed more ſafely, who under ſuch a fear make themſelves ſtrong and powerful at home. And this was the Courſe which *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, the Father of *Perſeus*, took, when he thought to be invaded by the *Romans*.

The Greatneſs of *Rome* gave *Carthage* very anxious Thoughts, and it rather ſeems that they enter'd into the ſecond Punick War, more for fear the *Romans* ſhould have the Univerſal Empire, than out of any Ambition to Lord it themſelves over the whole World. Their Deſign was virtuous, and peradventure wiſe to endeavour at ſome early Interruption to a Rival that grew ſo faſt: However we ſee they miſcarry'd, tho' their Armies were led by *Hannibal*. But Fortune which had determin'd the Dominion of the Earth for *Rome*, did perhaps lead them into the fatal Council of paſſing the *Eber*, contrary

trary to the Articles of Peace concluded with *Aſdrubal*, and of Attacking *Saguntum*, before they had ſufficiently recover'd of the Wounds they had ſuffer'd in the Wars about *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and with their own Rebels. If the high Courage of *Hannibal* had not driven the Commonwealth into a new War, while it was yet faint and weak, and if they had been ſuffer'd to purſue their Victories in *Spain*, and to get firm footing in that Rich Warlike and then Populous Country, very probably in a few Years they might have been a more equal Match for the *Roman* People. 'Tis true, if the *Romans* had endeavour'd at the Conqueſt of *Spain*, and if they had diſturb'd the *Carthaginians* in that Country, the War muſt have been unavoidable, becauſe it was evident in that Age, and will be apparent in the Times we live in, that whatever Foreign Power already grown great, can add to its dominion the Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, will ſtand fair for Univerſal Empire.

But unleſs ſome ſuch Cogent Reaſon of State, as is here inſtanc'd, intervene, in all appearance the beſt way for a Nation that apprehends the growing Power of any Neighbour, is to fortifie it ſelf within; we do not mean by Land Armies, which rather debilitate than ſtrengthen a

Country, but by Potent Navies, by Thrift in the Publick Treaſure, Care of the Peoples Trade, and all the other honeſt and uſeful Arts of Peace.

By ſuch an Improvement of our Native Strength, agreeable to the Laws and to the Temper of a Free Nation, *England* without doubt may be brought to ſo good a Poſture and Condition of defending it ſelf, as not to apprehend any Neighbour jealous of its Strength, or envious of its Greatneſs.

And to this end we open theſe Schemes, That a Wiſe Government under which we live, not having any Deſigns to become Arbitrary, may ſee what Materials they have to work upon, and how far our Native Wealth is able to ſecond their good Intentions of preſerving us a rich and a free People.

Having ſaid ſomething of the Number of our Inhabitants, we ſhall proceed to diſcourſe of their different Degrees and Ranks, and to examin who are a Burthen and who a Profit to the Publick; for by how much every Part and Member of the Common-wealth can be made uſeful to the whole, by ſo much a Nation will be more and more a Gainer in this Ballance of Trade which we are to treat of.

Mr.

Mr. *King*, from the Aſſeſſments on Births and Marriages, and from the Polls, has form'd the Scheme here incerted, of the Ranks, Degrees, Titles and Qualifications of the People. He has done it ſo Judiciouſly, and upon ſuch Grounds, that 'tis well worth the careful Peruſal of any Curious Perſon; from thence we ſhall make ſome Obſervations in order to put our preſent Matter in a clearer Light. See Scheme D.

Firſt, This Scheme detects their Error, who in the Calculations they frame, contemplate nothing but the Wealth and Plenty they ſee in rich Cities and great Towns, and from thence make a Judgment of the Kingdoms remaining Part; and from this View conclude, That Taxes and Payments to the Publick do moſtly ariſe from the Gentry and better ſort, by which Meaſures they neither contrive their Impoſition aright, nor are they able to give a true Eſtimate what it ſhall produce; but when we have divided the Inhabitants of *England* into their proper Claſſes, it will appear that the Nobility and Gentry are but a ſmall Part of the whole Body of the People.

Believing that Taxes fall chiefly upon the better Sort, they care not what they lay, as thinking they will not be felt; but when they come to be levy'd, they either

either fall ſhort, and ſo run the Publick into an immenſe Debt, or they light ſo heavily upon the Poorer Sort, as to occaſion inſufferable Clamours; and they whoſe proper Buſineſs it was to contrive theſe Matters better, have been ſo unskilful, that the Legiſlative Power has been more than once compell'd for the Peoples eaſe to give new Fonds, inſtead of others that had been ill projected.

This may be generally ſaid, That all Duties whatſoever upon the Conſumption, of a large Produce, fall with the greateſt weight upon the Common Sort: So that ſuch as think in new Duties that they chiefly tax the Rich, will find themſelves quite miſtaken; for either their Fond muſt yield little, or it muſt ariſe from the whole Body of the People, of which the Richer Sort are but a ſmall Proportion.

And tho' War, and National Debts and Engagements, might heretofore very rationally plead for Exciſes upon our Home-Conſumption; yet now there is a Peace, it is the concern of every Man that loves his Country, to proceed warily in laying new ones, and to get off thoſe which are already laid as faſt as ever he can. High Cuſtoms and high Exciſes both together are incompatible, either of them

them alone are to be endur'd, but to have them co-exiſt is ſuffer'd in no well govern'd Nation. If Materials of Foreign growth were at an eaſie rate, a high Price might be the better born in things of our own Product, but to have both dear at once (and by reaſon of the Duties laid upon them) is ruinous to the inferior Rank of Men; and this ought to weigh more with us, when we conſider that even of the Common People, a Sub-diviſion is to be made, of which one part ſubſiſt from their own Havings, Arts, Labour and Induſtry; and the other Part ſubſiſt a little from their own Labour, but chiefly from the Help and Charity of the Rank that is above them. For according to to Mr. *King*'s Scheme,

The Nobility and Gentry, with their Families and Retainers, the Perſons in Offices, Merchants, Perſons in the Law, the Clergy, Free-holders, Farmers, Perſons in Sciences and Liberal Arts, Shopkeepers and Tradeſmen, Handicrafts Men, Naval Officers, with the Families and Dependants upon all theſe altogether, make up the Number of —— 2,675,520 Heads.

See Scheme D.

The

~~Brought over ——— 2,675,520 Heads.~~	
The Common Seamen, Comon Soldiers, Labouring People and Out-Servants, Cottagers, Paupers, and their Families, with the Vagrants, make up the number of ——— ———	2,825,000 Heads.
In all,	5,500,520 Heads.

So that here ſeems a Majority of the People, whoſe chief dependance and ſubſiſtance is from the other Part, which Majority is much greater, in reſpect of the Number of Families, becauſe 500,000 Families contribute to the ſupport of 850,000 Families. In Contemplation of which, great Care ſhould be taken not to lay new Duties upon the Home-Conſumption, unleſs upon the extreameſt Neceſſities of the State; for tho' ſuch Impoſitions cannot be ſaid to fall directly upon the lower Rank, whoſe Poverty hinders them from conſuming ſuch Materials (tho' there are few Exciſes, to which the meaneſt Perſon does not pay ſomething) yet indirectly, and by unavoidable Conſequences, they are rather more affected by high Duties upon our Home-Conſumption, than the Wealthier Degree of People, and

and ſo we ſhall find the Caſe to be, if we look carefully into all the diſtinct Ranks of Men there enumerated.

Firſt, As to the Nobility and Gentry, they muſt of neceſſity retrench their Families and Expences, if exceſſive Impoſitions are laid upon all ſorts of Materials for Conſumption; from whence follows, That the Degree below them of Merchants, Shop-keepers, Tradeſmen and Artizans, muſt want Employment.

Secondly, As to the Manufactures, high Exciſes in time of Peace, are utterly deſtructive to that principal Part of *England*'s Wealth; for if Malt, Coals, Salt, Leather, and other things bear a great Price, the Wages of Servants, Workmen and Artificers, will conſequently riſe, for the Income muſt bear ſome proportion with the Expence; and if ſuch as ſet the Poor to work, find Wages for Labour, or Manufacture advance upon them, they muſt riſe in the Price of their Commodity, or they cannot live; all which would ſignifie little, if nothing but our own Dealings among one another were thereby affected; but it has a Conſequence far more pernicious in relation to our Foreign Trade, for 'tis the Exportation of our own Product that muſt make *England* rich; to be Gainers in the Ballance of Trade,

Trade, we muſt carry out of our own Product, what will purchaſe the Things of Foreign Growth that are needful for our own Conſumption, with ſome Overplus either in Bullion or Goods to to be ſold in other Countries; which Overplus is the Profit a Nation makes by Trade, and it its more or leſs according to the natural Frugality of the People that Export, or as from the low Price of Labour and Manufacture they can afford the the Commodity cheap, and at a rate not to be under-ſold in Foreign Markets. The Dutch, whoſe Labour and Manufactures are dear, by reaſon of Home-Exciſes, can notwithſtanding ſell cheap abroad, becauſe this diſadvantage they labour under is ballanc'd by the Parſimonious Temper of their People: But in *England*, where this Frugality is hardly to be introduc'd, if the Duties upon our Home-Conſumption are ſo large as to raiſe conſiderably the price of Labour and Manufacture, all our Commodities for Exportation muſt by degrees ſo advance in the prime Value, that they cannot be ſold at a rate which will give 'em Vent in Foreign Markets; and we muſt be every where under-ſold by our wiſer Neighbours. But the Conſequence of ſuch Duties in times of Peace, will fall moſt heavily

vily upon our Woollen Manufactures, of which moſt have more Value from the Workmanſhip than the Material; and if the Price of this Workmanſhip be inhanc'd, it will in a ſhort Courſe of time put a Neceſſity upon thoſe we deal with of ſetting up Manufactures of their own, ſuch as they can, or of buying Goods of the like Kind and Uſe from Nations that can afford them cheaper. And in this Point we are to conſider, that the Bulk of our Woollen Exports does not conſiſt in Draperies made of the fine Wool, peculiar to our Soil, but is compos'd of courſe broad Cloaths, ſuch as *Yorkſhire* Cloaths, Kerſies, which make a great part of our Exports; and may be, and are made of a courſer Wool, which is to be had in other Countries: So that we are not ſingly to value our ſelves upon the Material, but alſo upon the Manufacture, which we ſhould make as eaſie as we can, by not laying over heavy Burthens upon the Manufacturer: And our Woollen Goods being two thirds of our Foreign Exports, it ought to be the chief Object of the Publick Care, if we expect to be Gainers in the Ballance of Trade, which is what we hunt after in theſe Inquiries.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, As to the lower Rank of all, which we compute at 2,825,000 Heads, a Majority of the whole People, their principal Subſiſtance is upon the Degrees above them; and if thoſe are render'd uneaſie, theſe muſt ſhare in the Calamity, but even of this inferiour Sort, no ſmall Proportion contribute largely to Exciſes, as Labourers and Out-Servants, which likewiſe affect the Common Seamen, who muſt thereupon raiſe their Wages, or they will not have wherewithal to keep their Families left at Home; and the high Wages of Seamen is another Burthen upon our Foreign Traffick. As to the Cottagers, who are above a fifth Part of the whole People, ſome Duties reach even them, as thoſe upon Malt, Leather and Salt, but not much becauſe of their ſlender Conſumption; but if the Gentry, upon whoſe Woods and Gleanings they live, and who employ 'em in Day Labour; and if the Manufacturers, for whom they Card and Spin, are over-burthen'd with Duties, they cannot afford to give them ſo much for their Labour and Handy-work; nor to yield them thoſe other Reliefs which are their principal Subſiſtence, for want of which, theſe miſerable Wretches muſt periſh with Cold and Hunger.

Thus

Thus we ſee Exciſes either directly or indirectly, fall upon the whole Body of the People; but we do not take notice of theſe Matters, as receeding from our former Opinion: On the contrary, we ſtill think them the moſt eaſie and equal way of Taxing a Nation; and perhaps it is demonſtrable, that if we had fallen into this Method at the beginning of the War, of raiſing the Year's Expence within the Year, by Exciſes, *England* had not been now indebted ſo many Millions; but what was adviſeable, under ſuch a Neceſſity and Danger, is not to be perſued in times of Peace, eſpecially in a Country depending ſo much upon Trade and Manufactures.

Our Study now ought to be how thoſe Debts may be ſpeedily clear'd off, for which theſe new Revenues are the Fonds, that Trade may again move freely as it did heretofore, without ſuch a heavy Clogg; but this Point we ſhall more amply handle, when we come to ſpeak of our Payments to the Publick.

Mr. *King* divides the whole Body of the People, into two Principal Claſſes, *viz.*

See Scheme D.

Increaſing the Wealth of the Kingdom, —— } 2,675,520 Heads.

Decreaſing the Wealth of the Kingdom, —— } 2,825,000 Heads.

By which he means, That the Firſt Claſs of the People, from Land, Arts and Induſtry, maintain themſelves, and add every Year ſomething to the Nation's General Stock; and beſides this, out of their Superfluity, contribute every Year ſo much to the maintainance of Others.

That of the Second Claſs, ſome partly maintain themſelves by Labour (as the Heads of the Cottage Families) but that the reſt, as moſt of the Wives and Children of theſe, ſick and impotent People, idle Beggars and Vagrants, are nouriſh'd at the Coſt of Others; and are a Yearly Burthen to the Publick, conſuming Annually ſo much as would be otherwiſe added to the Nation's general Stock.

The Bodies of Men are without doubt the moſt valuable Treaſure of a Country; and in their Sphere, the ordinary People are as ſerviceable to the Common-wealth as the rich, if they are employ'd in honeſt Labour

Labour and uſeful Arts: And ſuch being more in Number, do more contribute to increaſe the Nation's Wealth, than the higher Rank.

But a Country may be Populous and yet Poor (as were the ancient *Gauls* and *Scythians)* ſo that Numbers, unleſs they are well employ'd, make the Body Politick big, but unweildy, ſtrong but unactive, as to any Uſes of good Government.

Their's is a wrong Opinion, who think all Mouths profit a Country that conſume its Product: And it may be more truly affirm'd, That he who does not ſome way ſerve the Common-wealth, either by being employ'd, or by employing Others, is not only a uſeleſs, but a hurtful Member to it.

As it is Charity, and what we indeed owe to Humane Kind, to make Proviſion for the Aged, the Lame, the Sick, Blind and Impotent: So 'tis a Juſtice we owe to the Common-wealth, not to ſuffer ſuch as have Health, and who might maintain themſelves, to be Drones, and live upon the Labour of Others.

The Bulk of ſuch as are a Burthen to the Publick, conſiſts in the Cottagers and Paupers, Beggars in great Cities and Towns, and Vagrants.

Upon a Survey of the Hearth Books, made in *Michaelmas*, 1685. it was found that of the 1,300,000 Houſes in the whole Kingdom, thoſe of one Chimney amounted to 554,631; but ſome of theſe having Land about them, in all our Calculations, we have computed the Cottagers but at 500,000 Families. But of theſe, a large Number, may get their own Livelihood, and are no Charge to the Pariſh, for which Reaſon Mr. *King* very judiciouſly computes his *Cottagers and Paupers, decreaſing the Wealth of the Nation, but at* 400,000 *Families*; in which Accompt, he includes the poor Houſes in Cities, Towns and Villages, beſides which he reckons 30,000 Vagrants; and all theſe together, to make up 1,330,000 Heads.

This is a very great Proportion of the People to be a Burthen upon the other Part, and is a Weight upon the Land-Intereſt; of which the Landed Gentlemen muſt certainly be very ſenſible.

If this vaſt Body of Men, inſtead of being Expenſive, could be render'd Beneficial to the Common-wealth, it were a Work no doubt highly to be promoted by all who love their Country.

It ſeems evident to ſuch as have conſider'd theſe Matters, and who have obſerv'd how they are order'd in Nations under

under a good Polity, that the Number of ſuch who through Age or Impotence ſtand in real need of Relief, is but ſmall and might be maintain'd for very little; and that the Poor Rates are ſwell'd to the extravigant degree we now ſee 'em at, by two ſorts of People, One of which, by Reaſon of our ſlack Adminiſtration, is ſuffer'd to remain in Sloth; and the Other, through a Defect in our Conſtitution, continue in wretched Poverty for want of Emplyment, tho' willing enough to undertake it.

All this ſeems capable of a Remedy, the Laws may be arm'd againſt voluntary Idleneſs, ſo as to prevent it; and a way may probably be found out to ſet thoſe to Work who are deſirous to ſupport themſelves by their own Labour: And if this could be brought about, it would not only put a ſtop to the Courſe of that Vice which is the Conſequence of an idle Life, but it would greatly tend to inrich the Common-wealth; for if the Induſtry of not half the People maintains in ſome degree the other part; and beſides, in times of Peace did add every Year near two Millions and a half to the general Stock of *England*; to what pitch of Wealth and Greatneſs might we not be brought, if one Limb were not ſuffer'd

to draw away the Nouriſhment of the other; and if all the Members of the Body Politick were render'd uſeful to it.

Nature, in her Contrivances, has made every part of a living Creature either for Ornament or Uſe; the ſame ſhould be in a Politick Inſtitution rightly Govern'd.

It may be laid down for an undeniable Truth, That where all work no body will want; and to promote this, would be a greater Charity and more Meritorious, than to build Hoſpitals, which very often are but ſo many Monuments of ill-gotten Riches, attended with late Repentance.

To make as many as poſſible of theſe 1,330,000 Perſons (whereof not above 330,000 are Children too young to work) who now live chiefly upon others, get themſelves a large ſhare of their Maintenance, would be the opening a new Vein of Treaſure of ſome Millions Sterling *per Annum*; it would be a preſent Eaſe to every particular Man of Subſtance, and a laſting Benefit to the whole Body of the Kingdom: For it would not only nouriſh but increaſe the Numbers of the People, of which many Thouſands periſh every Year, by thoſe Diſeaſes contracted under a ſlothful Poverty.

Our

Our Laws relating to the Poor are very numerous, and this Matter has employ'd the Care of every Age for a long time, tho' but with little ſucceſs, partly through the ill Execution, and partly through ſome defect in the very Laws.

The Corruptions of Mankind are grown ſo great, that, now a-days, Laws are not much obſerv'd, which do not in a manner execute themſelves; of this Nature are thoſe Laws which relate to bringing in the Prince's Revenue, which never fail to be put in Execution, becauſe the People muſt pay, and the Prince will be paid; but where only one part of the Conſtitution, the People, are immediately concern'd, as in Laws relating to the Poor, the High-ways, Aſſizes, and other Civil Oeconomy, and good Order in the State, thoſe are but ſlenderly regarded.

The Publick Good being therefore, very often, not a Motive ſtrong enough to engage the Magiſtrate to perform his Duty, Law-givers have many times fortify'd their Laws with Penalties, wherein private Perſons may have a Profit, thereby to ſtir up the People to put the Laws in Execution.

In Countries deprav'd, nothing proceeds well, wherein particular Men do not one way or other find their Accompt,

and rather than a Publick Good ſhould not go on at all; without doubt, 'tis better to give Private Men ſome Intereſt to ſet it forward.

For which Reaſon, it may be worth the Conſideration of ſuch as ſtudy the Proſperity and Welfare of *England*, whither this great Engine of maintaining the Poor, and finding them Work and Employment, may not be put in Motion by giving ſome Body of Undertakers a reaſonable Gain to put the Machine upon its Wheels.

In Order to which, we ſhall here incert a Propoſal deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for the better maintaining the Impotent, and employing and ſetting to Work the other Poor of this Kingdom.

In Matters of this Nature, 'tis always good to have ſome Model or Plan laid down, which thinking Men may contemplate, alter and correct, as they ſee occaſion; And the Writer of theſe Papers does rather chuſe to offer this Scheme, becauſe he is ſatisfy'd it was compos'd by a Gentleman of great Abilities, and who has made both the Poor Rates, and their Number, more his ſtudy than any other Perſon in the Nation. The Propoſal is as follows.

A Scheme

A Scheme for ſetting the Poor to Work.

FIrſt, That ſuch Perſons as ſhall ſubſcribe and pay the Sum of 300,000 *l.* as a Stock for and towards the better maintaining the Impotent Poor, and for buying Commodities and Materials to employ and ſet at Work the other Poor, be Incorporated and made one Body Politick, *&c.* By the Name of the Governor and Company, for maintaining and employing the Poor of this Kingdom.

By all former Propoſitions, it was intended that the Pariſhes ſhould advance ſeveral Years Rates to raiſe a Stock, but by this Propoſal the Experiment is to be made by Private Perſons at their Risk; and 300,000 *l.* may be judg'd a very good Stock, which added to the Poor Rates for a certain number of Years, will be a very good Fond for buying Commodities and Materials for a Million of Mony at any time. This Subſcription ought to be free for every Body, and if the Sum were ſubſcrib'd in the ſeveral Counties of *England* and *Wales*, in Proportion to their Poor Rates, or the Monthly Aſſeſſment, it would be moſt convenient; and Proviſion may be made, That no Perſon ſhall transfer his Intereſt but to one of the ſame County,

County, which will keep the Intereſt there during the Term; and as to its being one Corporation, 'tis preſum'd this will be moſt beneficial to the Publick. For firſt, All Diſputes on Removes, which are very chargeable and burthenſome, will be at an end, this Propoſal intending, that whereever the Poor are, they ſhall be maintain'd or employ'd. Secondly, It will prevent one County which ſhall be diligent, impoſing on their Neighbours who may be negligent, or getting away their Manufactures from them. Thirdly, In Caſe of Fire, Plague, or loſs of Manufacture, the Stock of one County may not be ſufficient to ſupport the Places where ſuch Calamities may happen; and 'tis neceſſary the whole Body ſhould ſupport every particular Member, ſo that hereby there will be a general Care to adminiſter to every Place according to their Neceſſities.

Secondly, That the ſaid Corporation be eſtabliſh'd for the Term of one and twenty Years.

The Corporation ought to be eſtabliſh'd for one and twenty Years, or otherwiſe it cannot have the benefit the Law gives in Caſe of Infants, which is their Service for their Education; beſides, it will be ſome Years before a matter of this Nature can be brought into Practice.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That the ſaid Sum of 300,000 *l.* be paid in, and laid out for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, to remain as a Stock for and during the ſaid Term of one and twenty Years.

The Subſcription ought to be taken at the Paſſing of the Act, but the Corporation to be left at liberty, to begin either the *Michaelmas* or the *Lady*-Day after, as they ſhall think fit. And *per Cent.* to be paid at the ſubſcribing to Perſons appointed for that purpoſe, and the remainder before they begin to Act; but ſo as 300,000 *l.* ſhall be always in Stock during the Term, notwithſtanding any Dividends or other Diſpoſition: And an Accompt thereof to be exhibited twice in every Year upon Oath, before the Lord Chancellor for the time being.

Fourthly, That the ſaid Corporation do by themſelves, or Agents in every Pariſh of *England*, from and after the Day of during the ſaid Term of one and twenty Years, provide for the real Impotent Poor good and ſufficient Maintainance and Reception, as good or better than hath at any time within the ſpace of Years before the ſaid Day of been provided or allow'd to ſuch Impotent Poor, and ſo ſhall continue to provide for ſuch Impotent

potent Poor, and what other growing Impotent Poor ſhall happen in the ſaid Pariſh during the ſaid Term.

By Impotent Poor is to be underſtood all Infants and old and decrepid Perſons not able to Work; alſo Perſons who by Sickneſs or any Accident are for the time unable to labour for themſelves or Families; and all Perſons (not being fit for Labour) who were uſually reliev'd by the Mony rais'd for the uſe of the Poor; they ſhall have Maintainance, *&c.* as good or better, as within Years they us'd to have.

This does not directly determine what that ſhall be, nor is it poſſible, by reaſon a Shilling in one County is as much as two in another; but it will be the Intereſt of the Corporation that ſuch Poor be well provided for, by reaſon the contrary will occaſion all the Complaints or Clamour that probably can be made againſt the Corporation.

Fifthly, That the Corporation do provide (as well for all ſuch Poor which on the ſaid Day of ſhall be on the Poor Books, as for what other growing Poor ſhall happen in the ſaid Term, who are or ſhall be able to labour or do any work) ſufficient Labour and Work proper for ſuch Perſons to be employ'd

ploy'd in. And that Proviſion ſhall be made for ſuch labouring Perſons according to their Labour, ſo as ſuch Proviſion doth not exceed ¼ parts, as much as any other Perſon would have paid for ſuch Labour. And in Caſe they are not employ'd and ſet to work, then ſuch Perſons ſhall, until Materials or Labour be provided for them, be maintain'd as Impotent Poor; but ſo as ſuch Perſons who ſhall hereafter enter themſelves on the Poor's Books, being able to Labour, ſhall not quit the Service of the Corporation, without leave, for the ſpace of ſix Months.

The Corporation are to provide Materials and Labour for all that can work, and to make Proviſion for them not exceeding ¼ parts as much as any other Perſon would give for ſuch Labour. For Example, if another Perſon would give one of theſe a Shilling, the Corporation ought to give but Nine Pence. And the Reaſon is plain, Firſt, Becauſe the Corporation will be oblig'd to maintain them and their Families in all Exigences, which others are not oblig'd to do, and conſequently they ought not to allow ſo much as others. Secondly, In Caſe any Perſons able to Labour, ſhall come to the Corporation, when their Agents are not prepar'd

par'd with Materials to employ them, by this Propoſal, they are to allow them full Proviſion as Impotent Poor, until they find them Work, which is intirely in favour of the Poor. Thirdly, It is neither reaſonable nor poſſible for the Corporation to provide Materials upon every Occaſion, for ſuch Perſons as ſhall be enter'd with them, unleſs they can be ſecure of ſuch Perſons to work up thoſe Materials; beſides, without this Proviſion, all the labouring People of *England* will play faſt and looſe between their Employers and the Corporation, for as they are diſoblig'd by one, they will run to the other, and ſo neither ſhall be ſure of them.

Sixthly, That no Impotent Poor ſhall be remov'd out of the Pariſh where they dwell, but upon notice in Writing given to the Church-wardens or Overſeers of the ſaid Pariſh, to what place of Proviſion he or ſhe is remov'd.

It is judg'd the beſt Method to provide for the Impotent Poor in Houſes prepar'd for that purpoſe, where proper Proviſion may be made for ſeveral, with all Neceſſaries of Care and Maintenance. So that in ſome places one Houſe will ſerve the Impotent Poor of ſeveral Pariſhes, in which Caſe the Pariſh ought to know where to reſort, to ſee if good Proviſion be made for them.

Seventh-

Seventhly, That in caſe Proviſion be not made for the Poor of each Pariſh, in manner as aforeſaid, (upon due notice given to the Agents of the Corporation) the ſaid Pariſh may order their Poor to be maintain'd, and deduct the Sum by by them expended out of the next Payments to be made to the ſaid Corporation by the ſaid Pariſh.

In caſe any Accident happens in a Pariſh, either by Sickneſs, Fall, Caſualty of Fire, or otherways; and that the Agent of the Corporation is not preſent to provide for them, or having notice doth not immediately do it, the Pariſh may do it, and deduct ſo much out of the next Payment; but there muſt be Proviſion made for the notice, and in what time the Corporation ſhall provide for them.

Eighthly, That the ſaid Corporation ſhall have and receive for the ſaid one and twenty Years, That is to ſay, from every Pariſh Yearly, ſo much as ſuch Pariſh paid in any One Year, to be computed by a Medium of Seven Years; namely, from the 25th of *March*, 1690. to the 25th of *March*, 1697. and to be paid half Yearly; and beſides, ſhall receive the Benefit of the Revenues of all Donations given to any Pariſh, or which ſhall be given during the ſaid Term, and all

all Forfeitures which the Law gives to the Uſe of the Poor; and to all other Sums which were uſually collected by the Pariſh, for the maintainance of the Poor.

Whatever was rais'd for or apply'd to the Uſe of the Poor, ought to be paid over to the Corporarion; and where there are any Donations for maintaining the Poor, it will anſwer the Deſign of the Donor, by reaſon there will be better Proviſion for the maintainance of the Poor than ever; and if that maintainance be ſo good, as to induce further Charities, no doubt the Corporation ought to be entitled to them: But there are two Objections to this Article; Firſt, That to make a Medium by a time of War is unreaſonable. Secondly, To continue the whole Tax for One and Twenty Years, does not ſeem to give any Benefit to the Kingdom in that time. To the Firſt, It is true, we have a Peace, but Trade is lower now than at any time during the War, and the Charge of the Poor greater; and when Trade will mend, is very uncertain. To the Second, It is very plain, that although the Charge may be the ſame to a Pariſh in the Total, yet it will be leſs to particular Perſons, becauſe thoſe who before receiv'd Alms, will now be enabled to be Contributors; but beſides,

beſides, the turning ſo many hundred thouſand Pounds a Year (which in a manner have hitherto been apply'd only to ſupport Idleneſs) into Induſtry; and the employing ſo many other idle Vagrants and ſturdy Beggars, with the Product of their Labour, will altogether be a preſent Benefit to the Lands of *England*, as well in the Rents as in the Value: And further, the accidental Charities in the Streets and at Doors, is, by a very modeſt Computation, over and above the Poor Rates, at leaſt 300,000 *l. per Annum*, which will be intirely ſav'd by this Propoſal, and the Perſons ſet at work; which is a further Conſideration for its being well receiv'd, ſince the Corporation are not allow'd any thing for this Service.

The greater the Encouragement is, the better the Work will be perform'd; and it will become the Wiſdom of the Parliament in what they do, to make it effectual; for ſhould ſuch an Undertaking as this prove ineffectual, inſtead of remedying it, will increaſe the Miſchief.

Ninthly, That all the Laws made for the Proviſion of the Poor, and for puniſhing idle Vagrant Perſons be repeal'd, and one Law made to continue ſuch parts as are found uſeful, and to add ſuch other Reſtrictions, Penalties and Proviſions as

may effectualy attain the End of this great Work.

The Laws hereunto relating are numerous, but the Judgment and Opinions given upon them are ſo various and contradictory, and differ ſo in ſundry places, as to be inconſiſtent with any one general Scheme of Management.

Tenthly, That proper Perſons be appointed in every County to determine all Matters and Differences which may ariſe between the Corporation and the reſpective Pariſhes.

To prevent any ill Uſage, Neglect or Cruelty, it will be neceſſary to make Proviſion that the Poor may tender their Complaints to Officers of the Pariſh; and that thoſe Officers having examin'd the ſame, and not finding Redreſs, may apply to Perſons to be appointed in each County and each City for that purpoſe, who may be call'd Superviſors of the Poor, and may have Allowance made them for their Trouble; and their Buſineſs may be to examine the Truth of ſuch Complaints; and in caſe either the Pariſh or Corporation judge themſelves agriev'd by the Determination of the ſaid Superviſors, Proviſion may be made that an Appeal lie to the Quarter Seſſions.

Eleventhly,

Eleventhly, That the Corporation be oblig'd to provide for all publick Beggars, and to put the Laws in Execution againſt publick Beggars and idle vagrant Perſons.

Such of the publick Beggars as can work muſt be employ'd, the reſt to be maintain'd as impotent Poor; but the Laws to be ſeverely put in Execution againſt thoſe who ſhall ask any publick Alms.

THis Propoſal, which in moſt parts of it ſeems to be very maturely weigh'd, may be a Foundation for thoſe to build upon, who have a publick Spirit large enough to embrace ſuch a noble Undertaking.

But the common Obſtruction to any thing of this Nature, is a malignant Temper in ſome who will not let a publick Work go on, if private Perſons are to be Gainers by it: When they are to get themſelves, they abandon all Senſe of Virtue, but are cloath'd in her whiteſt Robe; when they ſmell Profit coming to another, masking themſelves with a falſe Zeal to the Common-wealth, where their own Turn is not to be ſerv'd. It were better indeed, that Men would ſerve their Country for the Praiſe and Honour that follow good Actions; but this is not to

be expected in a Nation, at leaſt leaning towards Corruption; and in ſuch an Age 'tis as much as we can hope for, if the Proſpect of ſome honeſt Gain invites People to do the Publick faithful Service. For which Reaſon, in any Undertaking where it can be made apparent that a great Benefit will accrue to the Common-wealth in general, we ought not to have an evil Eye upon what fair Advantages particular Men may thereby expect to Reap, ſtill taking care to keep their Appetite of getting within moderate Bounds, laying all juſt and reaſonable Reſtraints upon it, and making due Proviſion that they may not wrong or oppreſs their Fellow Subjects.

'Tis not to be deny'd, but that if fewer Hands were ſuffer'd to remain idle, and if the Poor had full Employment, it would greatly tend to the Common Welfare, and contribute much towards adding every Year to the general Stock of *England*.

Among the Methods that we have here propos'd of Employing the Poor, and making the whole Body of the People uſeful to the Publick: We think it our Duty to mind thoſe who conſider the Common Welfare of looking with a compaſſionate Eye into the Priſons of this Kingdom, where

where many Thouſands conſume their Time in Vice and Idleneſs; waſting the Remainder of their Fortunes, or laviſhing the Subſtance of their Creditors, eating Bread and doing no Work, which is contrary to good Order, and pernicious to the Common-wealth.

We cannot therefore but recommend the Thoughts of ſome good Bill that may effectually put an end to this Miſchief ſo ſcandalous in a Trading Country, which ſhould let no Hands remain uſeleſs.

'Tis not all difficult to contrive ſuch a Bill as may Relieve and Releaſe the Debtor, and yet preſerve to his Creditors all their fair, juſt and honeſt Rights and Intereſt.

And having in this Matter endeavour'd to ſhow that to preſerve and increaſe the People, and to make their Numbers uſeful, are Methods conducing to make us Gainers in the Ballance of Trade, we ſhall proceed to handle the ſecond Head.

SECT. III.

Of the Land of England, and its Product.

IN treating of this Matter, we ſhall again produce one of Mr. *King*'s Schemes, which are all of them ſo accurately done, that we may venture to ſay they are not to be contraverted in any Point ſo material as to deſtroy the Foundation of thoſe Reaſonings, which the Writer of theſe Papers, or any other Perſon ſhall form upon them.

He computes that *England* and *Wales* contain 39 Millions of Acres, according to the following Scheme.

Vide Scheme E.

Scheme

Scheme E.

	Acres
Arable Land,	9,000,000
Paſture and Meadow,	12,000,000
Woods and Coppices,	3,000,000
Foreſts, Parks and Commons,	3,000,000
Heaths, Moors, Mountains, and barren Land,	10,000,000
Houſes and Homeſteads, Gardens and Orchards, Churches and Church-yards,	1,000,000
Rivers, Lakes, Meers and Ponds,	500,000
Roads, Ways, and waſt Land,	500,000
In all	39,000,000

	True Yearly Value. *l.*
So the yearly Rents or Value of the Land is	10,000,000
The Houſes and Buildings	2,000,000
All other Hereditaments	1,000,000
Perſonal Eſtates, ſuch as have been reach'd in the 4 s. Aids	1,000,000
In all	14,000,000

So that whereas the Tax of 4 s. *per* Pound, one
produc'd but
It ſhould produce, if duly Aſſeſs'd

Place this Scheme p. 70.

cres	Value *per* Acre.	Rent.
	l. s. d.	*l.*
00,000	0---5---6	2,480,000
00,000	0---8---8	5,200,000
00,000	0---5---0	750,000
00,000	0---3---8	570,000
00,000	0---1---0	500,000
	The Land	450,000
00,000	The Buildings	2,000,000
00,000	0---2---0	50,000
00,000	0---0---0	
00,000	about 6---2	12,000,000

e Year- Value.	Value, as rated to the 4s. Tax.	Produce of the 4s. Tax
l.	*l.*	*l.*
00,000	6,500,000	1,300,000
00,000	1,500,000	300,000
00,000	500,000	100,000
00,000	550,000	100,000
00,000	9,050,000	1,800,000

d, one Aid with another, has } 1,800,000

2,800,000

SCHEME F.

The Produce of the Arable Land, he thus Eſtimates in a Year of moderate Plenty.

	Buſhels	*per* Buſhel	Value.
		s. d.	
Wheat ——	14,000,000	at 3--6	2,450,000
Rye ——	10,000,000	at 2--6	1,250,000
Barly ——	27,000,000	at 2--0	2,700,000
Oats ——	16,000,000	at 1--6	1,200,000
Peaſe ——	7,000,000	at 2--6	875,000
Beans ——	4,000,000	at 2--6	500,000
Vetches ——	1,000,000	at 2--0	100,000
In all ——	79,000,000	at 2--3⅓	9,075,000

This is only the Neat Produce, exclusive of the Seed, Corn, which in some sorts of Grain being near $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Produce, and in others $\frac{1}{8}$ may in general be reckon'd about 11 Millions of Bushels more, which makes the whole Produce to be 90 Millions of Bushels, which at 2 *s.* $3\frac{3}{8}$ *d. per* Bushel in Common, is about 10,338,600 *l.*

Note, That this Value is what the same is worth upon the Spot where the Corn grew; but this Value is increas'd by the Carriage to the Place where it is at last spent, at least $\frac{1}{4}$ part more.

These 79 Millions of Bushels of Grain are the Product of 8 of the 9 Millions of Acres of Arable Land; the other Million of Acres producing Hemp, Flax, Woad, Saffron, Rape, Hops, dying Weeds, *&c.* the Value of the Product thereof may be about One Million Sterling.

So that the Rent of the Corn-Land being about 2,200,000 *l. per Annum*, and the Neat Produce thereof above 9,000,000 *l.* the Produce is full four Rents.

But deducting $\frac{1}{13}$ part of the Neat Produce, or 700,000 *l.* in lieu of Tyths, there remains 8,375,000 *l.* or three Rents, and near $\frac{8}{10}$.

Now

Now the Rents or yearly Value of the Paſture and Meadows, Woods, Coppices, Forreſts, Parks, Commons, Heaths, Moors, Mountains and Barren Land, being about 7,000,000 *l.*

The Produce being but 12,000,000 *l.* does not make fully two Rents, there being little Charge either in cultivating the Land, or gathering the Product thereof comparatively to what there is in the Arable Land.

This

This Produce is principally in and by Cattle, Hay, Timber, and Fire-wood.

	l.
The Produce by Cattle, in Butter, Cheese and Milk, may be, about	2,500,000
The Value of the Wool yearly shorn, about	2,000,000
The Value of the Horses yearly bred, about	250,000
The Value of the Flesh yearly spent, as Food, about	3,350,000
The Value of the Tallow and Hides of the Cattle, about	600,000
The Value of Hay yearly consum'd by Horses, about	1,300,000
The Hay yearly consum'd by other Cattle, about	1,000,000
The Timber yearly fell'd for Building and such Uses, about	500,000
The Wood yearly spent in Firing and petty Uses, about	500,000
So the Produce (including 1 Million in Hay spent by Cattle) may be in all	12,000,000

An

SCHEME G.

An Eſtimate of the Live Stock of the Nation.

and its Product.

	Yearly Bread or Increaſe	The whole Stock	Value of each beſides the Skin *l.* *s.* *d.*	Value of the Stock. *l.*
Beeves, Sterks, and Calves	800,000	4,500,000	2 - 00 - 00	9,000,000
Sheep and Lambs ——	3,600,000	12,000,000	0 - 07 - 04	4,400,000
Swine and Piggs ——	1,300,000	2,000,000	0 - 16 - 00	1,600,000
Deer and Fawns ——	20,000	100,000	2 - 00 - 00	200,000
Goats and Kids ——	10,000	50,000	0 - 10 - 00	25,000
Hares and Leverets —	12,000	24,000	0 - 01 - 06	1,800
Rabits and Conies ——	2,000,000	1,000,000	0 - 00 - 05	20,833
	7,742,000	19,674,000	0 - 00 - 00	15,247,633

This Produce is principally in and by Cattle, Hay, Timber, and Fire-wood.

	l.
The Produce by Cattle, in Butter, Cheeſe and Milk, may be, about	2,500,000
The Value of the Wool yearly ſhorn, about	2,000,000
The Value of the Horſes yearly bred, about	250,000
The Value of the Fleſh yearly ſpent, as Food, about	3,350,000
The Value of the Tallow and Hides of the Cattle, about	600,000
The Value of Hay yearly conſum'd by Horſes, about	1,300,000
The Hay yearly conſum'd by other Cattle, about	1,000,000
The Timber yearly fell'd for Building and ſuch Uſes, about	500,000
The Wood yearly ſpent in Firing and petty Uſes, about	500,000
So the Produce (including 1 Million in Hay ſpent by Cattle) may be in all	12,000,000

An

SCHEME G.

An Eſtimate of the Live Stock of the Nation.

	Yearly Bread or Increaſe	The whole Stock	Value of each beſides the Skin	Value of the Stock.
			l. *s.* *d.*	*l.*
Beeves, Sterks, and Calves	800,000	4,500,000	2 - 00 - 00	9,000,000
Sheep and Lambs ——	3,600,000	12,000,000	0 - 07 - 04	4,400,000
Swine and Piggs ——	1,300,000	2,000,000	0 - 16 - 00	1,600,000
Deer and Fawns ——	20,000	100,000	2 - 00 - 00	200,000
Goats and Kids ——	10,000	50,000	0 - 10 - 00	25,000
Hares and Leverets —	12,000	24,000	0 - 01 - 06	1,800
Rabits and Conies ——	2,000,000	1,000,000	0 - 00 - 05	20,833
	7,742,000	19,674,000	0 - 00 - 00	15,247,633

	l.
So the value of the live Stock for Food may be ——	15,247,633
The value of the Horſes, *&c.* being 1,200,000 at 2 *l.* 10 *s.* each, breeding Annually 100,000 may be ——	3,000,000
The value of the Pelts and Skins over and above the Wool —— —— —— ——	2,400,000
The value of the Wool Yearly ſhorn or pelted 12,000,000 of Fleeces, at 3 *s.* 4 *d. per* Fleece —— —— —— ——	2,000,000
The value of the whole Stock of Tame Fowl, as Geeſe, Turkeys, Hens, Ducks, Pigeons, Swans and Peacocks —— —— —— ——	460,000
The whole Stock of Wild Fowl about —— ——	12,000
In all,	23,119,633

From theſe Schemes we ſhall make ſuch Obſervations as we think may relate to our preſent Subject.

Of the 39 Millions of Acres in Territory belonging to *England* he lays down, that there may be above a fourth part, *viz.* ten Millions of Acres in Heaths, Moors, Moun-

Mountains and Barren Land; three Millions of Acres in Woods and Coppices, and three Millions in Foreſts, Parks and Commons. This Diviſion of the Land ſeems to be made with great Judgment; Firſt, Becauſe it agrees very well with the Conſumption of ſeveral Commodities, of which we can come at a near knowledge by the Exciſes now in being. Secondly, It correſponds exactly with that Increaſe in the Kingdoms General Rental, which for theſe laſt hundred Years may have been obſerv'd from the Produce of divers Land-Taxes, and from ſeveral other Particulars.

And there are undeniably Reaſons to be given, That this General Rental, *Anno* 1600. did not exceed ſix Millions *per Annum*, but through the help of that Wealth which has flow'd in to us by our Foreign Trade, it has advanc'd in ſeveral Periods of time from 6 to 8, from 8 to 10, and from 10 to 14 Millions *per Annum*. When the General Rental was but ſix Million *per Annum*, there was a great deal more barren Land, of that which was cultivated very much was capable of Melioration; and there were more Foreſts, Woods, Coppices, Commons, and waſt Ground than there is now, which our Wealth did enable us from time

time to time to incloſe, cultivate and improve.

And for the future, as we grow in Riches, and as our People increaſe, thoſe many Millions of Acres which now are Barren, will by degrees moſt of them be improv'd and cultivated; for there is hardly any ſort of Ground, which Numbers of Men will not render fertile; but then it muſt be ſuppos'd, that we do not go backward in our Trade, for if that ſhould happen, inſtead of improving what is waſt, that which is improv'd and cultivated will rather return to the Wildneſs and Deſolation of former Times; for as we have ſaid in our former Diſcourſes, Land and Trade riſe and fall together. Trade brings in the Stock, this Stock well and induſtriouſly manag'd betters Land, and brings more Product of all kind for Exportation; the Returns of which Growth and Product are to make a Country Gainers in the Ballance.

As to our quantity of Land, in Relation to its Inhabitants, as the Caſe ſtands, we ſeem now to have about 7¼ Acres *per* Head; but there are many Reaſons to think, that *England* is capable of nouriſhing double its preſent Number of People, which ſuppoſing them now to be 5,500,000 would be eleven Millions, and even

even then there will be as many Acres *per* Head as they have in *Holland*. And when we have this Complement of Men, either in the natural Courſe of time, or ſooner by the help of good Conduct, we ſhall be in a State of Power to deal with any Strength in *Europe*. In the natural Courſe of time this cannot happen in a great while, but the common Progreſſion of things may be haſten'd by Art, ſo that if we are ſtudious to preſerve and increaſe our People, peradventure in not many Years, we may have Hands enow, not only to make us ſafe from the Inſults of others, but to render us formidable to all our Neighbours: And Men being the trueſt Strength and Riches of a Country, the Councils of all Wiſe States ſhould tend to obtaining and keeping together as many as the Land will Nouriſh. There are indeed Countries, to whom their full Complement of Inhabitants would be dangerous, and ſubject them to frequent Famines in bad and unſeaſonable Years for Corn. As for Example, if *France* had had as many People as the Land will feed in times of common Plenty, half of 'em muſt have periſh'd during their late Dearths for want of Bread, becauſe they have a vaſt Inland Country, and only the Out Parts upon ſuch an Emergency can

be

be reliev'd by the Aſſiſtance of other Places. And we ſee that anciently before there was much Trade, there were frequent Famines in the World, becauſe one Part could not then help another; for which Reaſon, the Northern Nations heretofore, when their People multiply'd too faſt, did disburthen themſelves by ſending out numerous Colonies to ſeek out new Dwellings, in apprehenſion that by a ſcarce Year they might be diſtroy'd at home; but *England* (with any moderate Care) is not liable to ſuch a Fear, tho' its preſent Numbers ſhould even be doubled, becauſe we have every where the Sea to Friend, and in ſuch an Extremity our Wants may be ſupply'd from other Nations.

And our Matter leading us into it, it may not be unneceſſary here to take Notice, That Countries not over-ſtock'd with Men, and tho' Situate, ſo as to be reliev'd by the Sea, may ſuffer greatly, and be reduc'd very low for want of Corn, unleſs they make ſome due Proviſion againſt ſuch a Calamity.

The value of the Wheat, Barly and Rye, neceſſary for the Suſtenance of *England*, amounts at leaſt to ſix Millions of Pounds *per Annum* at the common Rate; from whence 'tis apparent, That if a long Dearth

Dearth ſhould happen here, ſuch as they lately had in *France*, tho' we may be ſupply'd upon more eaſie Terms than *France* was, and tho' we might ſtill keep our People alive, yet that a Diſaſter of this kind would exhauſt more of our Mony than a War of ten Years continuance. Suppoſe (which God forbid) that for two or three Years ſucceſſively the Seaſon ſhould prove ſo bad as to deprive us of half our uſual Crop; to ſupply ſuch a Want, what immenſe Summs muſt be carry'd out of the Kingdom? And it may be made evident, that ſuch a Scarcity did very much drein the *French*.

To provide againſt a Calamity of the like Nature, is no doubt of the higheſt Conſequence. That we have been deficient in this point of Polity is too Notorious, tho' Providence has taken more Care of us than a Negligent People deſerve. However, we have had outragious Famines in *England*, and in *Edward* the 3ds Reign, Corn did once riſe to 13 times the common value; this indeed can hardly happen again, becauſe there are more different ſorts of Soils improv'd and manur'd now than in that Age; but at ſeveral times we have ſuffer'd Wants of this kind very afflicting, and ſometime or other our Negligence in a Matter of ſuch concern

to the People's Welfare, may come to be more ſeverely puniſh'd.

By the beſt Accompts we are able to procure from ſuch as have look'd into theſe things, we find that in *England*, in a plentiful Year, there is not above five Months ſtock of Grain at the time of the ſucceeding Harveſt, and not above four Months Stock in an indifferent Year, which is but a ſlender Proviſion againſt any Evil Accident. We enjoy the benefit of ſuch different Soils, *viz.* High Lands and Low Lands, where one hits when the other fails, that now a-days we ſeldom ſee Corn above treble its common Rate, which however would be fatal, if it ſhould at any time continue ſo long as to make large Supplies from abroad neceſſary to us. 'Tis obſerv'd, That but $\frac{1}{10}$ defect in the Harveſt may raiſe the Price $\frac{3}{10}$, and when we have but half our Crop of Wheat, which now and then happens, the remainder is ſpun out by Thrift and good Management, and eked out by the uſe of other Grain; but this will not do for above one Year, and would be a ſmall help in the ſucceſſion of two or three unſeaſonable Harveſts: For the ſcarcity even of one Year is very deſtructive, in which many of the pooreſt Sort periſh, either for want of ſufficient Food, or by unwholſome Diet.

We

We take it, That a Defect in the Harveſt may raiſe the Price of Corn in the following Proportions.

Defect		*above the Common Rate.*
1 Tenth	Raiſes the Price	3 Tenths
2 Tenths		8 Tenths
3 Tenths		1. 6 Tenths
4 Tenths		2. 8 Tenths
5 Tenths		4. 5 Tenths

So that when Corn riſes to treble the Common Rate, it may be preſum'd, that we want above a third of the Common Produce; and if we ſhould want 5 Tenths, or half the Common Produce, the Price would riſe to near five times the Common Rate.

We dwell the longer upon this Subject, being convinc'd in Judgment, that nothing in the World can more impoveriſh a Country, nor tend more to ſet it back with other People in the Ballance of Trade for a long while, than ſuch a Calamity; 'tis indeed the Scourge of God, but improvident States are more liable to it than wiſer Nations.

The *Hollanders* cannot nouriſh their People from their Territory, and muſt always ſeek for Aſſiſtance from abroad; but in Proſpect that the Harveſt may be

bad now and then, in ſome and even in all thoſe Places from whence they fetch their Corn, whereby in ſcarce times they would be impos'd upon. They take care to have Granaries and Store-houſes, where in plentiful Years they lay up vaſt Quantities of all ſort of Grain againſt a dearer Seaſon; by which good and prudent Oeconomy, thoſe Dearths which in their turn have afflicted moſt other Countries, fall but lightly upon their Common People.

On the contrary, when ſuch a Calamity happens, they are able from their Stores to aſſiſt other Nations; and tho' we cannot go ſo high as * Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who is over large in his Computations of this Nature, and reckons the *Dutch* to get an Immenſe Sum by this ſort of Trade; yet 'tis apparent, That they are very great Gainers from time to time, by ſelling us our own Corn dear, which they had bought cheap, and that they make us pay very largely for its Store-room.

* *Vid* Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Remains, p. 173.

A Nation that will get by Foreign Traffick, muſt carefullly watch all theſe things; and the Inſtance we have here given, is a great pull-back in the general Ballance of Trade, and what the *Dutch* in this manner Gain, is a dead Loſs to *England*.

But

But this Evil is without doubt capable of a Remedy. If they can afford to let their Mony lie dead for a time, pay Freight backward and forward, and Store-room, and yet be Gainers by ſelling us our own Commodity in a dearer Market, why ſhould not we think it worth our while to build Granaries and publick Store-houſes, within our own Dominions?

We take it, That Freight backward and forward in ſuch a bulky Ware as Corn is, does over Ballance the difference in the Intereſt of Mony here and there: So that we ſeem to be impos'd upon in this important Matter, meerly through that Negligence of which Wealthy Nations are but too Guilty.

It may therefore be worth the Conſideration of ſuch as ſtudy the good of *England*, whither it would not be adviſeable, and for the publick Welfare, to ſettle a Fond for the erecting in every County Granaries capable of containing ſuch a quantity of Corn as may nouriſh the People for a certain time, upon any emergent occaſion, and as may hinder us at all times from purchaſing at a dear Rate our own Product from our more wary Neighbours.

This firſt Step would be the moſt chargeable, but in the Courſe of a few Years, the Expence would be over-paid to the Body of the Kingdom; as to filling theſe Stores with Corn, ſufficient to anſwer the People's Occaſions, we are inclin'd to think it would be beſt manag'd by private Undertakers, whom the hopes of Advantage will eaſily invite into ſuch a Buſineſs. But here again will come the common Objection made to publick Things, That ſome private Men will be thereby Gainers; and ſo, in the name of God, let 'em, provided they do the Publick Service.

However, there are many Reaſons to think, That ſuch a Buſineſs, from the very Nature of it, would be more uncorruptly manag'd, than moſt other publick Matters. Firſt, Some Perſons would look after it as a Work of more meritorious Charity than any that can be thought on. Secondly, In caſe of Male Adminiſtration, the Clamors of the common People would be irreſiſtable. Thirdly, A great many different ſorts of Men would find themſelves concern'd in point of Intereſt, to ſee it well and juſtly adminiſter'd.

'Tis not here pretended, to give any regular Scheme of this whole Matter, which would take up more time than

conſiſts

conſiſts with the brevity deſign'd in theſe Diſcourſes; but 'tis hop'd, the Hints now given, will ſuffice to make ſome good Patriots in due ſeaſon lay to heart a buſineſs of ſuch high Importance to their Land, to its Product, and to the entire Body of the People.

That Corporation for ſetting the Poor to Work, of which a Scheme has been here propos'd, may very properly provide Granaries round the Kingdom.

It would likewiſe be very adviſeable to review the Ancient Laws concerning Corn, for they no ways ſquare with the preſent Numbers of our People, nor with the Growth of *London*, and indeed ought to be more adapted to many other Circumſtances of the Times we now live in.

All Countries thrive or decline by Trade, as they well or ill manage their Product and Manufactures; and wiſe Nations obſerve carefully every part, where they think to have any probable Advantage. If they excel in Product and Manufacture, as in *France*, the Government bends it ſelf to encourage the People in the purſuit of what is judg'd profitable to the Publick. If they have little Product of their own, as in *Holland*, they fall to be Carriers of the World, and to buy

Goods in one place to vend in another, whereby the Bulk of their Riches has been gain'd.

England has an Excellent Product of its own, wherewith to ſuſtain its Inhabitants: The Woollen Manufacture is a Wealth in a manner peculiar to us. We have beſides the Product of other Countries ſubject to our Dominion the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Eaſt-Indies* are an inexhauſtible Mine of Vanities, to barter for the Vanities of other Countries, which a rich Nation will always covet. We have Ports and Situation, and every thing that can contribute to make us the foremoſt People of the whole Commerical World, only a little Induſtry may be wanting, which to ſtir up is the Drift of theſe Inquiries.

We have look'd into Mr. *King*'s Computation of the Corn, becauſe it ſhould be the Fundamental Care of a good Government, to provide that the People never want it, for two or three Years defect there pulls down whatever the Merchant has been doing for a long time.

As to his Eſtimate of our live Stock in Cattle, many Concluſions perhaps uſeful may be form'd from it, which we omit, as fearing to be too Voluminous: We ſhall only obſerve, That it ſeems

more

more the National Intereſt of *England*, to employ its Land to the Breeding and Feeding of Cattle, than to the Produce of Corn; For, as Mr. *Fortrey* has well noted, * *The profit of one Acre of Paſture in the Fleſh, Hide and Tallow of an Ox, or in the Fleſh, Wool and Tallow of a Sheep, or in the Carcaſe of a Horſe, is of ſo much greater value abroad, than the like Yield of the Earth would be in Corn; that the Exportation of this Nation might be at leaſt double to what it is, if rightly diſpos'd.*

* *England's* Intereſt and Improvement, p. 15.

'Tis true, in theſe Matters Men are apt to follow what they think their particular Profit, but the Influence of good Laws would go a great way towards inclining them more to purſue what is for the general Advantage; and indeed the private Concerns of Men ſhould be always made ſubſervient to the Publick Intereſt.

Nor is force at all needful to bring this about, for Men in moſt of their Meaſures, where the Adminiſtration is wiſe and ſteady, may be induc'd to purſue the common Welfare by directive Laws, by Examples from the Prince and great Ones, and by ſome few not very expenſive Encouragements. As for Example, 'tis in the Power of a King of *England*, not only to have as many Horſes bred, but of what

what Shape and Size He pleaſes; His Encouragement will at any time increaſe the Studds, and when He countenances the Shape and Size that He thinks will profit His Country moſt that way, the Breeders will forthwith turn all their Care and Induſtry.

Our Anceſtors have not been unmindful to promote the breed of Horſes, as we may ſee by 27 *H.* 8. 6. 32 *H.* 8. 13. foreſeeing what an Advantage might accrue thereby to *England*; but thoſe old Laws want reviſing, and to be more adapted to preſent uſe.

Our Fore-fathers indeed were againſt tranſporting Horſes and Mares above ſuch a value, 11 *H.* 7. 13. 1 *Ed.* 6. 5. but when thoſe Prohibitions were enacted, the buſineſs of Trade was not ſo well underſtood, as it is at preſent. However, in practice we have of late Years conſulted our National Intereſt, which in all appearance is to let this Commodity be traded for, as well as any other.

It may be convenient to reſtrain the carrying out of Mares, but as to Gueldings and Stone-horſes we can ſee no danger in it. On the contrary, if ſuch Numbers were call'd for, as would invite us to increaſe our Breeds, it would no doubt bring a great Profit to the Kingdom.

Stone-

Stone-Horſes yield moſt abroad, and coſt no more rearing than Gueldings: Againſt this is objected, That we may thereby ſtrengthen our Enemies, by mending the Breed of other Countries; but there is little Strength added to that Enemy, whoſe Mony we take for a periſhable Commodity: Beſides, the Nation we have moſt Reaſon to diſtruſt, labour under a Natural Impediment of 'not excelling in the Breed of Horſes, their Ground is not proper for it. They do not want Stallions, of which they may have as good, if not better than Ours from other Parts, but they have neither Mares nor fit Paſture; and if they had Mares, they would be yet to ſeek; for 'tis Notorious that the Shape, Strength and Beauty of Horſes proceed from the Soil; and when that is chang'd, in the next Race they degenerate.

This Matter has been taken notice of, becauſe it has been frequently deſir'd that the ancient Prohibitions here mention'd might be reinforc'd by ſome new Law; but whether or no ſuch a Meaſure would be right for *England*, is humbly ſubmitted to better Judgments.

Mr. *King* computes the Value of the Horſes yearly bred to be about 250,000 *l.*

This

This Eſtimate ſeems not to be out of the way, and from it we ſhall obſerve that by good Laws and a due Care in their Execution, and by Encouragement from the great Ones above, it might peradventure be brought about to double our yearly Breed; and if this could be compaſs'd, and if great Numbers of them ſhould be ſold in Foreign Markets (provided it be deem'd ſafe for the State) 'twould be a new Addition to our National Stock, and be juſt ſo much put into the Scale, yet more to incline of our ſide the general Ballance.

Our Mines are another Product of the Earth, and undoubtedly capable of great Improvements; we ought to reſpect them as the Parents of all our Trade, and which made us known to the firſt Merchants of the World, the *Phœnicians*. We have Tin, Lead, Copper, Calamy, Iron, Coal, Culm, Allom, Copperas, with other ſort of Minerals; and what is in this manner dug out of the Earth, cannot be a leſs Article than about 7 or 800,000 *l. per Annum* in the whole Rental of the Kingdom.

They who work theſe Mines and deal in theſe Materials, know beſt what Laws and Conſtitutions they want to make their Buſineſs more eaſie at Home, and

to

to give their Commodities a freer Vent Abroad; but if they need any Help from the Legiſlative Power, moſt certainly they ought to have it, ſince their Stock and Labour turn ſo much to the Common Good; for whatever their Product yields in Foreign Markets, is clear National Profit.

There are lately publiſh'd ſome extraordinary Accompts of the Mines in *Cardiganſhire*, where 'tis ſaid there are Eight large Veins of Silver, Lead and Copper Oar, lying near together in one Mountain, nigh a Navigable River and a good Port. * 'Tis alledg'd, That theſe Mines with a large Stock, in a few Years, may be advanc'd to a clear Profit of 170,000 *l. per Annum.* This Computation does not ſeem at all extravagant, to thoſe who have look'd into the Accompts of what Mines produce in other Countries, provided the Oar be good, the Vein like to laſt (and large ones ſeldom fail) and provided there be no invincible Impediment from Nature to their Working; they have ſtood ſtill ſeveral Years for want of a good Agreement among the Adventurers.

* *Mine Adventure and Expedient*, p. 7.

'Tis ſaid Sir *H. M.* has put 'em in a way of being wrought; but if his *Expedient* ſhould not ſucceed, and if new Differences ſhould ariſe, the Legiſlative Authority

thority may very well and juſtly interpoſe, even to compel the Partners to ſome Agreement, whereby the Work may be carry'd on; for 'tis a Juſtice due to the Publick at no time to ſuffer a few Stock-Jobbing Citizens to ſtand in the way of any National Advantage, the Fraud and Corruption of which ſort of Men have hurt *England* in more than one Particular.

Vide *Eſſay on the Value of the Mines*, &c.

If theſe Mines come but any thing near the Value Mr. *William Waller* has put upon them, and with Reaſons very probable, they are a fit Object of the States Care; and upon Inſpection into their true Worth, if private Purſes cannot raiſe a Stock ſufficient to ſet 'em going, it were better done upon ſome publick Fond, to be repaid out of the Profits, than to loſe what is repreſented as ſo immenſe a Treaſure. But ſhould it prove leſs 'tis not to be neglected, for Nations (like private Men) who will thrive muſt look into ſmall Things as well as great; and for this we have the Examples of *France* and *Holland*, whoſe Miniſters examine into the minuteſt Matters, where the Publick may poſſibly Reap any Advantage; and 'tis a very commendable piece of Wiſdom, were it but for this ſingle Reaſon, That to do ſo conſtantly begets a

Habit

Habit of Care and Diligence in things of higher Importance.

The Fiſhery ſhould be here treated of as being the Product of the Peoples Labour, but this Point we have elſewhere handled. However, it falls naturally into our preſent Subject to obſerve, That to recover the Fiſhery, and to bring us to the Height and Perfection our Coaſt and Situation are capable of, would increaſe the Numbers of our People (for Men always multiply where they have Conveniences of Living); It would find Employment for the Poor; It would raiſe Rents, and give a higher Value to all that Land produces; It would ſet us right in ſeveral Nations where we are believ'd to deal at Loſs, and particularly in thoſe Places where our Exportations bear no Proportion, at leaſt in Bulk, with our Importations, which might be ſupply'd by Fiſh. We cannot therefore but earneſtly recommend the ſerious Thoughts of this Matter, and by what Methods it may be retriev'd, to all ſuch as love their Country, and who wiſh to ſee us every Year more and more Gainers in the Ballance of Trade.

Vide *Diſcourſes on the Publick Revenues and Trade*, Part II. p. 135.

Having touch'd upon theſe Heads, we ſhall proceed to ſay ſomething of Wooll, which

which is a main Article in the Produce of Land.

Mr. *King* computes the Value of the Woull ſhorn, to be about 2,000,000 *l. per Annum.*

Part II. P. 414. And in the Diſcourſes upon the Revenue and Trade, we compute, by a General Medium, That the Material is improv'd one with another, four-fold in the Workmanſhip; ſo that the Value of the Woollen Manufacture made here, may amount to 8,000,000 *l. per Annum.*

Perhaps neither of us are much out of the way in theſe two Calculations, but ſuppoſe us a little under or over the Mark, all People will agree with us, That this Branch of our Product is very large, and of the higheſt Importance.

The Writer of theſe Papers has an Accompt from a Perſon, upon whoſe Judgment and Experience in theſe Matters there is great Reaſon to rely, That our Exports of all kinds, in the Woollen Manufacture, amount to above two Millions *per Annum*; which is ſo large a Part of our General Exportation, that it muſt maim the whole Body of our Trade, to receive any Hurt in ſo principal a Member.

Whatever Goods we make up of Foreign Materials, and ſell in the Markets abroad

abroad all above the Coſt of the Materials is clear Gain to *England*; in the ſame manner all our clear Returns from the Plantations which we Export are Neat Profit.

But where the Materials and Manufactures too are both our own, as in this inſtance of the Woollen Goods, two Millions carry'd out when the general Ballance of Trade is conſider'd, muſt be eſteem'd as two Millions gain'd to the Kingdom; for the Return of this Exportation ſupplies our Conſumption of Foreign Goods (which would otherwiſe be bought with Mony) with ſome Overplus, which Overplus is what muſt incline the Scale to turn of our ſide.

Some People have been apt to fear that we ſink in the Woollen Manufacture, becauſe the Accompts of the fine Draparies exported, have been heretofore larger than of late Years; but ſuch do not contemplate, that tho' the Old may have leſſen'd, what is commonly call'd the New Draparies have increas'd, conſiſting in Bays, Serges and Stuffs: So that upon the whole, infinitely more of the Material of Wooll has of late Years been wrought up for Foreign uſe than in former Times; and herein our Merchants have been only forc'd to follow the Modes and Humor

of thoſe People with whom they deal, and the Courſe they have perſued has hitherto not been detrimental to the Publick.

Nor is there any Cauſe to apprehend, but that we may increaſe from time to time in the general Manufacture of Wooll, tho' the Exportation of particular Commodities may now and then vary: For upon the whole, our Material is better and fitter for all uſes than that of moſt Countries.

'T were better indeed that the Call from abroad were only for the fine Draparies, becauſe then we ſhould be in a manner without a Rival; no Country but *England* and *Ireland*, having a Soard or Turf, that will rear Sheep, producing the Wooll of which moſt of our Draparies are made. 'Tis true, the Wooll of *Spain* is fine above all others, but 'tis the wear only of the Richer Sort; and of *Spaniſh* Cloaths not above 9000 Pieces are ſent abroad *Communibus Annis.* And even in the working up of this Wooll, perhaps it may be made out, that our very Climate gives us an Advantage over other Countries.

The Learned Prelate, who has oblig'd *England* with that Noble Work, his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, Diſcourſing once

once upon theſe Matters, with the Writer of this Eſſay, did urge a thing of which the Philoſophy ſeem'd very ſound and right, and upon which we have ſince reflected often; He ſaid, That Nature had adapted different Countries for different Manufactures; that cold and moiſter Climates are fitter for the working up of Wool, becauſe there the Sun does not exhauſt its natural Moiſture, nor make it brittle, which would render it ill to work, and bad to wear; That hot Climates are beſt for the working up of Silk, becauſe the Matter is there more diſpos'd to imbibe the Dye, and to take a more durable impreſſion of it, the Sun helping, at the ſame time, both to preſerve and to give it Luſtre.

That we have many natural Advantages over all Foreign Nations, who ſhall pretend to ſet up Looms, is beyond all diſpute; but 'tis a very great Queſtion, whither there are not weighty Reaſons to apprehend Neighbours of another ſort, we mean the People of *Ireland*.

The Country is very large, it abounds in convenient Ports; 'tis excellently Situate for Trade, capable of great Improvements of all kinds, and able to nouriſh more than treble its preſent Number of Inhabitants.

Its Soil, Soard and Turf, are in a manner the ſame with ours, and proper to rear Sheep: All which Conſiderations beget a reaſonable fear, that in time they may come to rival us in our Darling and moſt Important Manufacture.

That they ſhould increaſe in People, that their Land ſhould be drein'd and meliorated, that they ſhould have Trade, and grow Wealthy by it, may not peradventure be dangerous to *England*: For 'tis granted, their Riches will center at laſt here in their Mother-Kingdom.

And Colonies that enjoy not only Protection, but who are at their Eaſe, and Flouriſh, will in all likelyhood be leſs inclinable to inovate, or to receive a Foreign Yoke, than if they are harraſs'd and compell'd to Poverty, through the hard Uſage of the People from whom they are deriv'd. For tho' there are now and then Inſtances of Countries that rebel wantonly, yet moſt commonly great Defections proceed from great Oppreſſion.

It ſeems therefore a Point of the higheſt Wiſdom to give the Planters of *Ireland* all Encouragements that can poſſibly conſiſt with the Welfare of *England*: For 'tis an Out-work to the Seat of Empire here, if it ſhould be gain'd by any Neighbouring Power, the Sum of Affairs would be put in

in danger. 'Tis to be preſerv'd but by a Numerous Army, or by its own proper Strength. How far the firſt way may affect our Liberties is not difficult to determin, it follows then that the ſafeſt Courſe muſt be to let them thrive by Husbandry, and ſome Trade, whereby the Natives and Inhabitants will not only have the Means, but an Intereſt to defend themſelves.

If through a miſtaken fear and jealouſy of their future Strength and Greatneſs, we ſhould either permit or contrive to let them be diſpeopled, poor, weak and diſpirited, or if we ſhould render them ſo uneaſie as to incline the People to a deſire of Change, it may invite Strangers to look that way; and if brought to be naked and defenceleſs, they muſt be a Prey to the firſt Invader.

This will be avoided, if they are ſuffer'd to proſper, and not only ſo, but Strength thus added to one Member will make the Body-Politick much the ſtronger.

For as all the Blood with a ſwift Motion paſſes frequently through the Heart, ſo whatever Wealth out Countries acquire, circulates about, coming into the chief Seat of Empire, from whence 'tis diſpers'd into all its Parts; and ever ſince *Ireland* did improve, it can be made ap-

pear *England* has had no ſmall Proportion of its Gains.

What made *Rome* ſo immenſly rich? Her Citizens but little minded Arts or Handicraft, War was their chief Employment. 'Twas counted Ignoble in a Senator to exerciſe Merchandize, nor indeed was the Genius of the People adicted to it, but being the Head of that large Dominion, the Fountain of Law, and the Spring from whence all Power, Honors, and Magiſtracies were deriv'd, thither all Men reſorted; ſome for Pleaſure, others upon Buſineſs: So that what was got by the *Sicilians*, *Rhodians*, *Cretans*, and by the Trading Cities, not only of *Greece* but *Aſia*, came at laſt to center there.

But this holds more ſtrongly, where the Seat of Dominion is in a great Emporium, for ſuch a City will not only be the Head of Power but of Trade, governing all its Branches, and giving the Rules and Price; ſo that all Parts thereon depending, can deal but ſubordinately to it, till at laſt 'tis found that Provinces work but to enrich the Superior Kingdom.

That what has been here ſaid is true, in our preſent Caſe, appears manifeſtly from this, That all People agree, there is not in *Ireland* above 500,000 *l.* in current Caſh,

Caſh, notwithſtanding their large Exportations for many Years, which could not be, if they had not ſome conſtant Drein, whereby they are exhauſted. 'Tis true, improving Countries lay out a great Stock in Foreign Materials for Building, *&c.* ſo that they ſeldom abound much at firſt in the Species of Mony, but allowing for this; yet in the natural Courſe of Things they ought to have more Species, if what they got elſewhere had not been ſpent here, and return'd hither by Bills of Exchange from *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Weſt-Indies*, and other Places.

But tho' we are ready to agree, That hitherto their Gains both at home and abroad have chiefly center'd here; yet in proceſs of time, 'tis poſſible that in the Management of their Product and Foreign Traffick, they may come to interfere with, and bring Prejudice to their Mother-Nation. And remote Fears being allowable where the whole Safety of a State is concern'd, they ſhould not wonder to ſee *England* ſo much alarm'd at the Progreſs they make in the Woollen Manufacture.

As has been ſaid before, 'Tis ſo great a Part of our Exportation, that any conſiderable Failure and Interruption therein muſt ſet the Ballance of Trade againſt us

with a Witneſs; it falls therefore naturally into our preſent Subject to ſay ſomething of this Matter.

Laſt Seſſion of Parliament, a Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was committed in the Houſe of Lords, For Prohibiting the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures of *Ireland* to Foreign Parts.

This Point has of late been much debated, and the general Subject of Men's Diſcourſes; The Writer of theſe Papers was then inclin'd to the milder Side, being indeed in his Judgment againſt Prohibitions, becauſe moſt of ſuch as are come within his Obſervation, ſeem to have been puſh'd on (without Doors) rather for private Ends, and to ſerve ſome particular Turn, than calculated to produce any publick Benefit.

But having now more maturely conſider'd this nice Controverſie, he begins to lean to their Opinion, who think ſuch a Bill neceſſary; and more eſpecially if the Promoters of it can make out the Suggeſtions upon which it was founded.

Where the Common-wealth is truly concern'd, and where her Safety is in Queſtion, they have very narrow Minds, who let their Compaſſion be too much extended to private Objects: Our chief Tender-

Tenderneſs ſhould be towards her, and rough Examples in the infancy of a Miſchief are rather merciful than cruel, becauſe fewer People ſuffer then, than would otherwiſe do, if the Evil were permitted to take deeper Root.

If their Manufactures interfere with ours, ſo as to hurt *England*, it muſt be undoubtedly adviſeable to intercept their Growth by ſome effectual Law betimes, before ſuch an Error in Government grow too big for our Correction; before too many Families have turn'd their Stock that way; before they have increas'd their Stock of Sheep, or bred up too great a number of Artiſts (all which Circumſtances would make their Caſe yet harder); for we ſhould preſerve our ſelves with as little Hurt to them as poſſible.

But it ſeems, ſome People make a doubt, whither or no we have Power thus to intermeddle in their Matters; queſtioning whether Laws made here are binding upon them, till they have receiv'd a Sanction in their own Parliament. And Mr. *Molyneux* counts it a very extravagant Notion, that has not the leaſt Colour from Reaſon or Record, to term them a Colony from *England*. But we muſt beg leave to differ with him in Opinion. For we take them ſo far to be a

Colony

Colony in the Senſe (by the Interpretation both of Law and Reaſon) as renders them ſtill dependant upon their Mother-Kingdom.

Nor is this at all impugn'd by the Conceſſions made to the ancient *Iriſh* by *Henry* the 2d, King *John*, and *Henry* the 3d; but to ſet this in a better Light, the Poſture of *Ireland* in thoſe Times muſt be conſider'd.

The firſt Adventurers that went over thither, namely, *Richard* the Son of *Strongbow*, and *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, who ſtipulated under certain Conditions to aſſiſt *Dermot Fitz-Murchard*, had not a ſtrength ſufficient to reduce the Country, and little was done towards it of any Conſequence, till the Expedition of *Henry* the 2d, *Anno* 1172. with a Royal Army, to whom the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry and People, made an abſolute Surrender of the Kingdom; and, by the deſcription Hiſtorians give of it, it ſeems to have been that ſort of Yielding which the *Romans* call'd *Deditio*, which was *ſe dare in Manus Poteſtatem & Arbitrium.* And their giving themſelves up to *Henry* the 2d, without a Battel or Blood-ſhed, gave him yet a ſtronger Title, becauſe the Act was leſs conſtrain'd, and more flowing from the Will. 'Tis true, ſo wild and numerous

rous a People were not to be kept in Order by a handful of new Inhabitants; the King therefore gave them a Conſtitution, by which they were to govern themſelves, as a free Country under him their Lord. After this, the Dominion thereof was ſettled upon *John* his Youngeſt Son, and two and twenty Years after in him reunited to the Crown of *England*. From King *John*, *Henry* the 3d, and their Succeſſors, the ancient *Iriſh* and the firſt Adventurers (of whom many as * Mr. *Spencer* has obſerv'd, have taken the Names, Manners and Humours of the Natives) derive ſeveral Franchiſes and Immunities, and among the reſt to hold a Parliament. The Story of thoſe Times is it ſelf dark, but the Reaſon of their Councils is yet darker. From *Mathew Paris*, and *Giraldus Cambrenſis* it appears, That theſe Conceſſions were made to the Body of the Old *Iriſh*, tho' but few, in Practice, ſubmitted to them; for to uſe Mr. *Spencer*'s own Words, *To whom did King* Henry *the 2d impoſe thoſe Laws? Not to the* Iriſh, *for the moſt of them fled from his Power into Deſarts and Mountains, leaving the wide Country to the Conquerour, who in their ſtead eſtſoons plac'd* Engliſh *Men, who poſſeſs'd all their Lands, and did quite ſhut out the* Iriſh, *or the moſt part of them. And to thoſe new Inhabi-*

* *Edmund Spencer's View of the State of Ireland*, p. 222.

Inhabitants and Colonies he gave his Laws, to wit, the ſame Laws under which they were born and bred, the which it was no difficulty to place among them, being formerly well inur'd thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repair'd divers of the Poor diſtreſs'd People of the Iriſh, *for Succour and Relief of whom, ſuch as they thought fit for Labour, and induſtriouſly diſpos'd, as the moſt part of their baſer ſort are, they receiv'd unto them as their Vaſſals, but ſcarcely vouchſaf'd to impart unto them the benefit of thoſe Laws, under which themſelves liv'd, but every One made his Will and Commandment a Law unto his own Vaſſal: Thus was not the Law of* England *ever properly apply'd unto the* Iriſh *Nation, as by a purpos'd Plot of Government, but as they could inſinuate and ſteal themſelves under the ſame, by their humble Carriage and Submiſſion.*

But after this, during the Wars between the Houſe of *York* and *Lancaſter*, they ſhook off both the Rule and Laws of *England*, repoſſeſſing their ancient Seats, driving us by degrees to that which was properly call'd the *Engliſh* Pale.

In truth it does not appear, That they embrac'd our Form of Government for a great while: So that the Models of it given heretofore, from hence ſeem chiefly to have been intended for the better Rule of our

our own People, not but they were likewiſe meant as a Benefit to the *Iriſh*, if they would be contented to become a more civiliz'd Nation.

If their ancient Parliament Rolls were extant, it would more plainly appear what uſe they made of their Conſtitution, and thereby it would be ſeen whither or no both their Houſe of Lords and Commons did not chiefly conſiſt of the *Engliſh* Planters.

If, as Mr. *Molyneux* aſſerts, Ireland, *tho' annext to the Crown of* England, *has always been look'd upon to be a Kingdom compleat within it ſelf, and to have all Juriſdiction to an Abſolute Kingdom belonging, and Subordinate to no Legiſlative Authority on Earth*; theſe Immunities muſt be deriv'd from the Conceſſions granted at *Caſhal* by *Henry* the 2d. But with whom was this Compact made? With the Native *Iriſh*; and their Claim to it would be very juſt, if they had perform'd the Conditions of the Stipulation, but their Title ſeems weaken'd by 52 Rebellions which they have made againſt the Government of *England*. We would not be thought here to inſinuate, that a People may loſe their Natural Rights by an Inſurrection againſt their Prince, but certain Priviledges not Fundamental, they may

may forfeit by non-uſure or miſ-uſure. Beſides, the Caſe between a Prince and his Native Subjects, and between a Government and the People of a Conquer'd Country, is quite different. In the firſt Inſtance the Relation is the ſame, as betwixt a Father and a Son, the Child may Err, and the Parent will forgive; but in the other Caſe the Tie is not the ſame, they are not ſo near a-Kin. 'Tis true, the Prince is Father of the People, in one place as well as in the other, but in his Politick-Capacity he is at the Head of another Common-wealth, with whoſe Blood and Treaſure the ſtranger Country was perhaps conquer'd. And if a Foreign People, thus ſubdu'd, Rebel, they may without doubt forfeit certain Priviledges, which were not any Natural Rights of their own, but Forms of living preſcrib'd, and Conceſſions granted by the Conquerors. And the *Romans* in the beſt and pureſt Times of the Common-wealth, did frequently deprive Subject Cities and Countries, rebelling, of their Land, and of their Immunities: To be a State not Subordinate to any Legiſlative Authority on Earth, is a Priviledge that may be forfeited by a Subject-Country, and yet leave to the People their Natural Rights unhurt: That the *Iriſh* were

were once a Subject-Country, appears from the intire Reſignation of themſelves to *Henry* the 2d, as Head of the Common-wealth of *England*. To reduce a wild Nation, it was expedient to put their Liberties upon a good Foot. He reſtor'd them therefore to be a free People, and ſo they and their Deſcendants might have been. They might have continu'd an Independant Kingdom, and the Old *Iriſh* might have preſerv'd both their Land, and the Immunities thereon depending, if they had not themſelves alter'd their own Conſtitution.

But by Rebelling frequently, and by being as often Vanquiſh'd, they chang'd their own Form of Government. They were heretofore Proprietors of the Land, and therefore had Right to be the two Eſtates in Parliament of Lords and Commons, but this was by degrees loſt, and became veſted in the new Inhabitants: Inſomuch that, to uſe Mr. *Molyneux*'s own Words, *Now 'tis manifeſt, That the great Body of the preſent People of* Ireland, *are the Progeny of the* Engliſh *and* Britains, *that from time to time have come over into this Kingdom; and there remains but a meer handful of the ancient* Iriſh *at this Day, I may ſay not One in a Thouſand.*

Are

Are the Conceſſions granted by King *Henry* now veſted in this Thouſandth Part? And are they the Body-Politick of *Ireland*, of which not One in a Thouſand ſits in Parliament; and of which very few have Voices in chooſing thoſe who are to ſit there? If any, theſe certainly are to be the diſtinct State, and *To have all Juriſdiction to an Abſolute Kingdom belonging*, for with their Anceſtors thoſe Stipulations were made, under which Mr. *Molyneux* pretends to claim.

But the Old Inhabitants having loſt the greateſt part of their Property, have loſt ſo much of their ſhare in the Conſtitution, which is now devolv'd upon thoſe Colonies which *England* has from time to time ſent to conquer and poſſeſs the Land, who are now properly the Body-Politick of that Kingdom.

Theſe we allow have forfeited nothing by any Rebellion the Natives have made, they are Purchaſers, and at a dear Rate with the frequent hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: We muſt therefore ſee how far the ancient Rights of the *Iriſh* are devolv'd upon them, and whither under that Claim the New Inhabitants may juſtly term themſelves an Independant Nation.

Who-

Whoever Conquers, Conquers in the Right of that Country at whoſe Expence the War was made; and tho' the Property of the Land be often granted to the Adventurers, the Dominion thereof is always reſerv'd to the Nation that ſends her People out. 'Tis true, where a part of the People divides its ſelf from the reſt to ſeek new Seats at their own Coſt, as they did among the *Scythians*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, there the Caſe was otherwiſe, for they rambled ſo far as no more to communicate with their Mother-Country.

But it does not appear, That *Fitz-Stephen* or *Richard Strongbow*, went out upon ſuch Terms as thoſe Northern Nations did. On the contrary, their Endeavours had little Succeſs till ſeconded by the Power of *England*, at whoſe Expence all the ſucceeding Conqueſts of *Ireland* have been either made or ſecur'd; ſo that if the ancient *Iriſh* had any Rights of Dominion, and if thoſe Rights are forfeited, the Forfeiture devolves upon *England*, and not upon the Adventurers, nor their Succeſſors.

Nor is it indeed conſiſtant with the Principles of Government that a part of the People ſhould ſeparate from the reſt, and be (eſpecially ſo near at hand) an Independant Dominion, for that were to

have Protection where they owe no Duty, which is an Abſurdity in Politicks.

When a part of the People divides from the reſt to ſeek more Territory, if they are at their own Coſt, and ſtrong enough to eradicate or keep under the Natives, they become a New Empire, and may be juſtly term'd a diſtinct Nation: But if not at their own Expence, and if they are weak and always ſtand in need of being protected by their Mother-Country, they are in all appearance to be accounted but as a Colony.

Nor are Names to alter the Nature of Things. 'Tis granted *Ireland* has been very anciently call'd a Kingdom, though our Princes did not take the Stile of Kings thereof till the Reign of *Henry* the 8th. 'Tis likewiſe apparent, That they have many diſtinct Juriſdictions; That they are a State within themſelves; That they have an undoubted Right to hold Parliaments; but all this does not hinder them from being ſtill a Colony, nor can it make them an Independant People.

Sigonii Commentaria.

Almoſt every Colony that the *Romans* planted was a Model of their own Republick, and fram'd according to it, by thoſe whom the Senate had deputed for its Settlement. They had an Annual *Duumviratus*,

viratus, in Imitation of the Conſular Authority. They had likewiſe *Cenſors*, *Ædiles* and *Quæſtors*; and which comes ſtrongeſt to our preſent Caſe, every Colony had its particular Senate: But will any one pretend to argue from thence, That all theſe were Diſtinct and Independant Common-wealths?

Theſe Branches and Scions from the great Trunk of the Republick, had all of 'em the Face of Formal Governments; they had Magiſtracies and Councils, Power of Life and Death, and to raiſe Mony for their Common Safety, and to make Laws for their better Rule; but this is no Argument that they had all the Parts of Sovereign Empire.

'Tis true the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, from ancient Conceſſions, have a Priviviledge perhaps above the *Roman* Colonies, namely, to Tax themſelves by their own Suffrages, within their own Limits; but this is no more than what is claim'd by ſeveral Provinces of *France*, which nevertheleſs account themſelves ſubordinate to the Sovereign Power of the whole State.

There is a part of Empire not communicable, and which muſt reſide Sovereignly ſomewhere; for there would be ſuch a perpetual claſhing of Power and Juriſ-

dictions, as were inconſiſtant with the very Being of Communities, unleſs this laſt Reſort were ſomewhere lodg'd. Now this Incommunicable Power we take to be the Supream Judgment of what is beſt and moſt expedient for the whole; and in all Reaſon of Government this ought to be there truſted and lodged, from whence Protection is expected.

That *Ireland* ſhould judge of what is beſt for it ſelf, is juſt and fair; but in Determinations that are to reach the whole, as namely, what is moſt expedient for *England* and *Ireland* both, there, without all doubt, the Supream Judgment ought to reſt in the King, Lords, and Commons of *England*, by whoſe Arms and Treaſure *Ireland* ever was, and muſt always be defended.

Caſe of Ireland, p. 84.

Nor is this any claiming the ſame Empire over *Scotland*, as Mr. *Molyneux* would ſuggeſt, for there is no Parity of Reaſon in the Caſes: *Scotland* to *England* (as *Aragon* to *Spain*) is a diſtinct State, governing it ſelf by different Laws, tho' under the ſame Prince, and is truly but a Kingdom Confederated with the Realm of *England*, tho' ſubject to our King. The Land thereof was not acquir'd to the preſent Inhabitants by the Arms of *England*; protect them we do, as the Strongeſt Allies

lies always are to defend the Weaker, but this puts 'em not in the Degree of Subordination we are treating of. They are not our Diſcendants, and they are but Politically our Brethren; whereas the Engliſh-Iriſh, who are now chief Lords of that Soil, are naturally our Offspring.

Their Inferior Rule and Juriſdictions are not diſputed, but that Super-eminent Dominion and ſupream and uncontrollable Regiment over themſelves, which they pretend to, is neither ſafe for *England* to grant, nor for them to ask.

Such a Power would be dangerous, becauſe by ſome Accident it may come to be ſo exercis'd, as to be their and our Ruin.

We have had bad Kings, and thoſe Kings have had evil Counſellors: Suppoſe us then, in ſome future Age, under ſuch Circumſtances, as to have a Prince and his Council ſo angry with the People, as to deſire their Deſtruction, which was our Caſe once with King *John*, who would have ſold us to the *Moors* to wreak his own Diſcontents. And ſuppoſe this Prince willing to ſet up *Ireland* in oppoſition to this Kingdom, may not a Prince, ſo diſpos'd, give the Royal Aſſent to Laws in *Ireland*, that would utterly deſtroy *England*? And what Remedy would *Mat. Pariſ.*

Poining's Act be in ſuch a Juncture? In a Caſe like this, what way have the People of *England* to preſerve themſelves, but to repreſent their Grievance to the Prince? Who, when he ſees the Error of his Council, may be induc'd to join in ſome Supream Exerciſe of the Legiſlature here, coercive, and ſuch as may keep *Ireland* in the degree of Subordination, that ſeems requiſite to the well-being of both Nations.

Suppoſe a Prince bent to hurt *England*, ſhould give his Aſſent to a Law there, That the *Iriſh* may tranſport all their Wool to Foreign Countries; would not this, as they ſay, cut the Turf from under our Feet, and at one blow, in a manner, ruin all our Woollen Manufactures? There are many other Inſtances, in which, if they were indulg'd, the greateſt part of our Traffick would be carry'd to their Ports.

In Matters of Trade, even the beſt of Kings may be ſurpris'd, of which we have a late Example; and the ill Conſequences the *Scotch* Act will probably have, ought to make us very watchful over what our Neighbours do, eſpecially where they depend upon us.

That the greateſt part of the preſent Inhabitants of *Ireland*, chiefly thoſe who claim

claim the Land-Property, are a Colony from *England*, has been here peradventure ſufficiently made out; and we take it to be their beſt Hold, to be always ſo accompted, becauſe it gives them a laſting Title to be protected and defended by us. And if they are a Colony, it would be a ſtrange Defect in our Conſtitution, if we wanted any of the Powers requiſite to purſue the Ends of Government, of which the Principal is to take care, that no one part of the People be permitted to hurt the other; but if the Legiſlature of *England* cannot, in Important Matters, reſtrain that of *Ireland*, *Ireland* is at leaſt in a Capacity to ruin *England*, which would make our Form of Government at one and the ſame time Ridiculous and Dangerous.

But to be thus out of our Juriſdiction, would in the Concluſion be as fatal to them as to us; for tho' they ſhould grow Rich at our Expence, and tho' a large part of our Trade were diverted thither, they would not yet be able to ſubſiſt alone, and by themſelves. And if we by Loſs of our Trade become weaken'd, how can we give them that Aſſiſtance which from time to time they have always wanted? So that this diviſion of Strength would be deſtructive to both Countries.

It muſt therefore be their Intereſt as well as Ours, That the Supream Power, and the chief Wealth, ſhould be ever preſerv'd to Center here in the Seat of Empire.

Upon the whole Matter, it ſeems the Right of *England*, and as well for the Benefit of *Ireland* its beſt and nobleſt Colony, that the Legiſlative Authority here ſhould upon all Emergencies, make ſuch Regulations and Reſtrictions, relating to Trade eſpecially, as ſhall be thought for the Weal-Publick of both Countries.

And having premis'd theſe Things, we ſhall proceed to handle more cloſely the Subject of our Queſtion; namely, Whither it is neceſſary to Prohibit by Law, the Exportation of Woollen Manufacture from *Ireland* to Foreign Parts?

To put an early Stop to their turning their Stock and Induſtry this way, appears requiſite for many Reaſons.

Firſt, *Ireland* contains near a half as much Territory as *England*, and the Soil being of the ſame Nature, may be brought to produce near a half as much Wool as *England* yields; and this Material being the Baſis upon which our Trade is built, they who can come near us in it, will come juſt ſo near us in our Trade abroad.

Secondly,

Secondly, Countries thinly Peopled, can ſooner improve in the Breed of Cattle, than any other way, becauſe 'tis a Work which a few Hands may manage.

Thirdly, Where there is Plenty of a Material, which, Manufactur'd, yields a good Price, Hands will ſoon be invited over to work it up.

Fourthly, But this holds more ſtrongly, where not only the Material, but all ſort of Proviſions are cheap; and in Countries which have not been yet improv'd, where every new Commer hopes to make a ſudden Fortune.

From which Poſitions it follows, If *Ireland* be permitted to proceed in the Exportation of Woollen Goods,

Firſt, That in no long Courſe of time they may come to carry out to the value of a Million *per Annum.*

Secondly, That the cheapneſs of Proviſions will enable them to afford their Commodities cheaper than *England* can do in Foreign Markets.

All that have either writ or ſpoke upon this Subject, agree, That the whole Controverſie turns upon this ſingle Point, whither they can make the ſame Woollen Goods cheaper there than here.

To

To ſet this in a true Light, we muſt conſider the firſt Material, and thoſe who work it up.

As to the firſt Material, beyond all doubt Wooll is a third cheaper there than in *England*.

As to the Workmanſhip, the Clothiers affirm Spinning to be one half of it, and that of all Hands is agreed to be cheaper there than here. And for the Combing and Weaving, the Price of courſe muſt abate, as Work-men increaſe; for Handy-craft in Countries, where Living is cheap, can be dear no longer than till Artiſts are bred up. And a great many Artiſts will be inſtructed before the Multitude of Inhabitants can render Proviſions dear in ſuch a Place as *Ireland*. But to judge rightly of theſe Matters, we muſt contemplate the Body of the People in each Country.

* Political Anatomy of *Ireland*, p. 76.

* Sir *William Petty* affirms, That the Inferior Rank of People in *Ireland* (thro' whoſe Hands Spinning muſt paſs) do not expend one with another above 52 Shillings *per* Head. The Expence of the ſame Rank cannot be leſs here than 5 *l.* *per* Head.

'Tis an undeniable Truth, That the Common Proviſions for Life are one half cheaper there than here: 'Tis likewiſe as

as plain, That Meat and Drink are one half of Mankind's Expence reckon'd in a Maſs together. And theſe Advantages of Living, muſt enable them to afford the ſame Commodity cheaper than we can do, where not only our Numbers make Proviſions dear, but where new Exciſes give all things of our Home-Conſumption yet a higher Price.

Mr. *Clement*'s (for we take him to be the Author of * that Fine Diſcourſe upon this Subject, inſcrib'd to the Marquiſs of *Normanby*) makes this Judicious Obſervation, *That if any one offers his Goods cheaper than the uſual Price, that will then become the Market Price; and every one elſe muſt ſell at the ſame, or keep his Goods.*

* Intereſt of *England*, with Relation to the Trade of *Ireland*.

The Cheapneſs of Living, and all other Circumſtances conſider'd, it ſeems very probable, That if they ſhould come to have the neceſſary Complement of Workmen, and to flouriſh in this Manufacture, they will be able to ſell it one third cheaper than we can do.

If they can make for a Million, and afford it by one third cheaper than we, it follows, That at leaſt one half of our Exportations in that Commodity muſt immediately determin.

And the Conſequence of this would be, That Rents muſt every where fall.

The

The Purchaſe of Land muſt ſink. The Poor muſt want Employment, and grow upon us; half our Foreign Trade muſt forthwith ceaſe, and in the other half, we muſt be Loſers in the Ballance, which is chiefly kept of our Side by the Woollen Manufactures.

Not only a third, but an Abatement of ten *per Cent.* forc'd upon us, by the Rivalſhip in Trade of another Country, would throw us into more Diſorders, than the moſt knowing Man in *England* can readily deſcribe.

And to ask where will be the Stocks of Mony to ſet up ſo large a Manufacture? is but an evaſive way of Arguing; for where the Proſpect of Gain is certain, Mony never fails to come. And if it ſhould ever be determin'd, That *England* cannot reſtrain that Country in this Exportation, Foreigners will carry Stocks to an Improving Place, where they may reaſonably expect many more Advantages, than what ſhall ariſe from this Manufacture. As for Example, To lay out Mony upon good Securities, at ten *per Cent.* Intereſt, to buy Land capable of great Melioration at ten Years Purchaſe. And to have almoſt all the Neceſſaries of Life half as cheap again as in other parts; are not all theſe Circumſtances ſufficient

to

to invite thither, not only Foreign Stocks, but very much of our own Mony, and a great Number of our Work-men, where their Induſtry will turn to a better Accompt than it does here?

No Wiſe State, if it has the Means of preventing the Miſchief, will leave its Ruin in the Power of another Country. And if Wars have been thought not only Prudent, but juſt, which have been made to interrupt the too ſudden Growth of any Neighbour-Nation, much more juſtifiable may a Mother-Kingdom exerciſe the Civil Authority in Relation to her own Children; who from her had their Being, and ſtill have their Protection, eſpecially when her own Safety is ſo much concern'd.

Nor can this be thought Rigour; 'Tis but a reaſonable Jealouſie of State, and only ſevere Wiſdom, which Governments ſhould ſhow in all their Councils; 'Tis a preventing Remedy which operates gently in the beginning of the Diſeaſe, before there are many, and thoſe inveterate Humors to contend with. And if a timely Stop be put to theſe Exportations from *Ireland*, it will hurt but a very few (which is never to be regarded, where the good of the whole Publick is in Queſtion) and even that Few, without any great

great difficulty, may have their Induſtry turn'd to ſafer Objects.

For theſe and ſeveral other Reaſons, which will occur to ſuch as think ſeriouſly of this Subject, it ſeems for the Publick Good, That the Legiſlature of *England* ſhould, by ſome Reſtrictions, keep *Ireland* from interfering with us in this Principal Foundation of our whole Traffick. And to do it by a Poſitive Law here, and not to leave it to the Adminiſtration there, as ſome propoſe, appears to be the rather requiſite; becauſe when this Step is made, and when they are render'd incapable of Exporting Woollen Goods, there will lie a Neceſſity upon the Governing Part and Landed Men, of doing their utmoſt to promote other Improvements, of which their Soil is capable.

Nor is it fair to urge, That we may proceed from one Prohibition to another, till we leave them nothing, and till they are quite undone. They can fundamentally hurt us no other way, their Rivalſhip is dangerous in none but the Woollen Manufacture, where all *Lucrum Ceſſans*, is *Damnum Emergens* to *England*, ſince all our Affairs abroad turn and depend upon it; nor can we ſuffer any Competitors in it, if we mean to flouriſh and be Gainers in the General Ballance of Trade.

To

To think this Kingdom will either peviſhly or covetouſly hurt that Colony, is an abſurd Imagination. 'Tis obvious enough, that too much depends upon the Poſſeſſion of ſuch an Iſland, to render its Inhabitants deſperate, and deſirous of a Change, if they have a large Trade, and flowing Riches, the Benefit thereof will redound to us at laſt; And the wiſer a Government is, the more it will deſire to ſee 'em proſper, except in this ſingle Inſtance, where their Wealth would be built upon our Deſtruction.

But ſuch a Prohibition as we have been treating of, will have very little Effect, unleſs they can be likewiſe hindred from carrying out their Wooll; to prevent which, their Situation conſider'd, will be a very hard Matter; but there are no difficulties of the like Nature, which are not to be overcome, if the Adminiſtration be ſtrict and ſteady.

They, who would prohibit the Exportation of Woollen Goods from *Ireland*, to Foreign Parts, have hitherto propos'd ſetting up there the Linnen Manufacture, but this Deſign is likewiſe not without its Dangers: The ſetting up the Linnen Manufacture will be leſs hurtful than to ſet up the Woollen, but we are to conſider, That *Ireland* will be always able to

ſupply

ſupply it ſelf with Draperies at Home, and that there will be no Market for their Linnen, but *England*, and its Dependences. Now 'tis evident, That our Woollen Goods are ſold in ſeveral Countries, namely, *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, *Germany*, the *Han's* Towns, and all the Eaſt Country; many of which Places will not be able to take off our Woollen Goods, unleſs we deal for their Linnens: And in Fact, and by Experience, it has been ſeen, in the Caſe of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſince there has been Imported from thence vaſt Quantities of Linnens, ſuch as Callicoes, Muſlins, Romals for Handkerſhifts, which anſwer'd the end of Lawns, Cambricks, and other Linnen Cloath, we have not Exported that vaſt quantity of Draperies to thoſe Northern Parts, of which Sir *Walter Raleigh* makes mention. As our Call for their Linnens has diminiſh'd, their Call for our Draperies has proportionably decreas'd; and not only ſo, but theſe People have been compell'd by Neceſſity to fall upon making Courſe Woollen Cloath, by which they ſupply themſelves, and other Places, which heretofore we were wont to furniſh. So that it deſerves a very ſerious Conſideration, what future Effect it may have upon our Woollen Goods, to promote a Con-

Conſiderable Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland.*

Upon the whole Matter, it ought to be carefully examin'd, Whither or no a better Expedient may not be thought on, to ſtop their Progreſs in the new Draperies, than to introduce the Linnen Manufacture there? and whither it would not be beſt for both Kingdoms to take off the Prohibition that now lies upon *Iriſh* Cattle?

This Point has been formerly much debated, and it remains yet very doubtful, when this Prohibition was ſet on foot, which was moſt conſulted, Publick Good, or Private Intereſt; The Numbers of the Breeding were without doubt ſtronger, at that time, than thoſe of the Feeding Lands; but 'tis to be fear'd, in the making that Act, that the general Intereſt of *England* was not ſufficiently conſider'd.

If the People of *Ireland* are permitted to bring their Cattle hither, it will lower the Price of Fleſh in *England*; a Matter very important to a Country that Subſiſts ſo much by Manufactures. 'Tis true, the Breeding Counties will be thereby ſomewhat hurt, but it will encourage Improvements and Melioration of Barren Land, in order to Feed, which will be

advantagious to the whole Publick of the Nation. It will divert thoſe of *Ireland*, from thinking to extend their Trade too much abroad; a Point not to be ſlighted. And it will in a manner confine the principal Part of their Dealings to this Kingdom; which, for many Reaſons of State, will be beſt and ſafeſt for *England*.

'Tis therefore ſubmitted to better Judgments, whither or no to open the way hither for their Cattle, will not be moſt adviſable; and the trueſt Method to hinder their Progreſs in Manufactures, without doing any thing that may look like Injury or Oppreſſion.

'Tis no true Objection to ſay, That the People of *Ireland* will not fall readily into this ſort of Trade, which has been now ſo long intermitted; for, as we are inform'd, the Payments are very ill made, for that Fleſh, Tallow and Hides, that are Exported to Foreign Parts. That the Merchant makes the Butcher ſtay ſometimes two or three Years, upon pretence of Bills of Exchange, and Returns expected from the *Weſt-Indies*, *Spain*, and other Parts; and if the Butcher be ill dealt with, it muſt follow, that the Landlord cannot be paid his Rent: Whereas when the Trade was open for *England*, the

the Gentlemen of *Ireland* receiv'd ready Mony, or if they gave Credit, it was anſwer'd by the next Return; and *England* was to them as *Smithfield* is to *Lancaſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, or any other *Engliſh* Feeding County; beſides, it would keep down the Exchange, which would be another Encouragement to the *Iriſh* Nobility and Gentry, who ſpend ſo large a Part of their Eſtates in *London*.

So that in all likelihood, the People of that Kingdom, if the ſaid Prohibition were taken off, would cheerfully ſubmit to a Law here, binding them not to Export to Foreign Parts their Woollen Goods; nor would they perhaps think of ſetting up the Linnen Manufacture, which is likewiſe not without Conſequences very pernicious; and for theſe Reaſons, the Expedient here propos'd, is now offer'd to Publick Conſideration.

Before we quit our preſent Subject *of Land and its Product*, we ſhall offer another Hint. The Courſe Draperies is that part of our Woollen Manufacture, in which we are in greateſt Danger to be rival'd by other Countries; it ſtands therefore in need of moſt Encouragement. There are many Parts of the World, whoſe Poverty diſables them from buy-

ing our Woollen Goods, becauſe of their high Price. As *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, *Tartary*, &c. and therefore they are ſupply'd by the *Germans*, or ſome other Neighbours, with a ſort of Cloath very contemptible, in Compariſon of what we could make to anſwer the ſame Ends and Uſes. Suppoſe then, inſtead of paying five *per Cent.* Cuſtom outward bound, That ſuch Courſe Cloaths not exceeding ſuch a certain Value, ſhould for a term of Years receive upon the Exportation ten *per Cent.* Bounty Mony by way of Encouragement from the State, for ſo much as the Exporters can make appear was carry'd out, to Countries with whom we had no Dealings of that kind before, and that ſuch their Exportations are in order to enlarge our Trade. A Recompence of this Nature would in all probability increaſe the Woollen Manufacture of *England*, in not many Years, at leaſt one third.

We have the more largely handled the *Iriſh* Prohibitions, becauſe in all appearance the Ballance of Trade will very much depend upon the Meaſures *England* ſhall take, in relation to that Colony; ſince we ſhould proceed very heavily in all our Foreign Traffick, if *Ireland* is left in a Capacity to diſturb us abroad, in the vent of our Woollen Manufactures.

And

And having treated of the Numbers of the People, and of Land, and its Product, we ſhall proceed to ſay ſomething of our Payments to the Publick, and in what manner the Ballance of Trade may be thereby affected.

SECT. IV.

Of our Payments to the Publick, and in what manner the Ballance of Trade may be thereby affected.

WHETHER it be under a Common-wealth, an Abſolute Monarchy, or in a Mix'd Government, the Affairs of a Country can never go on proſperouſly, unleſs the Publick Revenues are well and wiſely ordered. *Richlieu* ſays, *Ceſt le Point d'Archimede qui eſtant fermement etabli, donne moyen de mouvoir tout le monde.*

Teſtament Politique, part 2. §. 7.

Common-wealths are ſeldom to blame in this part of Polity, and when they quit it, ſuffering their Treaſure to be imbezzel'd by the Men in Power, they ſeldom fail

fail of falling ſoon after into the Hands of a ſingle Perſon. In Abſolute Monarchies, where 'tis neglected, the Prince is compell'd by his Want to Flea and Rack his Subjects, and to wink at all ſorts of Rapine in thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to contrive Ways of ſupplying his Neceſſities, till at laſt he becomes Tirannical and Odious to the whole People.

Profuſion has the ſame ill Effects in Conſtitutions where the Regal Authority is limited by Laws. *Richlieu* ſays, *A neceſſitous Prince can never undertake a glorious Action; and Neceſſity ingendering Contempt, he can never be reduced to that Condition without being expoſed to the Attempts of his Enemies, and of thoſe who are envious of his Greatneſs.* Beſides, when the Crown is brought very low, it alters the due Ballance of Power, which ſhould be kept even and well-pois'd to preſerve ſuch Forms of Government; for it either inclines the People who hold the Purſe to intrench upon ſuch Prerogatives as are neceſſary for the Prince's Safety, and to keep the Kingdom's Peace, or it gives bad Men an opportunity of ſuggeſting to him that wicked Council (which was given to King *Charles* I.) of making himſelf eaſy, by ſubverting his People's Rights. Ibid.

Teſtament Politique, Par. 1. c. 4. §. 1.

This able Stateſman lays down, *That good Order in the Revenue depends more on thoſe who have the Adminiſtration than on Laws and Regulations, which remain uſeleſs unleſs ſuch as are employ'd to ſee them obſerv'd be willing to perform their Duty.*

The Legiſlative Part of the Conſtitution gives the Mony, but it principally belongs to the Miniſterial Part to take Care that what is granted be not waſted, diverted, or miſapply'd; and if ſuch as are truſted fail to do this, it is incumbent on the Legiſlature to interpoſe, and call 'em to a ſtrict Account.

The Wealth of a Country is Finite, as well as the Subſtance of any private Man; and when a Miniſtry ſet themſelves induſtriouſly about it, they can as well ruin a whole People, as the Duke of *Buckingham* could ſee an end of his great Eſtate.

Harry III. of *France*, for want of Order and by being ill-ſerved, in a few Years conſumed an immenſe Sum, and anticipated all the Crown-Revenue. His Succeſſor *Harry* IV. with a very little Care of his own, but by the infinite Application, Prudence and Honeſty of the Duke of *Sully* his Treaſurer, paid moſt of thoſe Debts off, and left behind him, at his Death, Five Millions Sterling in his Coffers.

And

And at this Day, for want of Conduct in the Miniſtry, *Spain* is not the richer for the Silver Mines of *Potoſi*. So that the Wealth or Poverty of the Publick does, in a manner, wholly depend upon the good or bad Adminiſtration of its Affairs.

Machiavel does not ſeem to think Liberality a neceſſary Virtue in a Prince, becauſe, to ſupport it, there muſt go ſo much Oppreſſion of the People. *And that a frugal Prince ſhall be accounted Noble to all from whom he takes nothing away, which are an infinite number: And that he ſhall be eſteemed Near and Parſimonious only by thoſe Few to whom he gives but little.* And he ſays, *That a Prince ought not ſo much to concern himſelf (ſo he exacts not upon his Subjects, ſo he be able to defend himſelf, ſo he becomes not deſpicable and commits no Rapine upon his People) tho' he be accounted Covetous, for that it is one of thoſe Vices which fortifies his Dominion.* And he obſerves, *That Pope* Julius II. *was liberal till he came to the Papacy, but frugal afterwards, which enabled him to do ſuch great Things againſt the Power of* France. Prince, c. 16.

That the Buſineſs of moſt Kingdoms has been ill managed, proceeds from this: It imports the lower Rank of Men only and the People (whoſe Cries ſeldom reach the Prince till it is too late, and till all is paſt

paſt Remedy) that Matters ſhould be frugally ordered, becauſe Taxes muſt ariſe from their Sweat and Labour. But the great Ones, who heretofore have had the Prince's Ear and Favour, or who hoped to have him in their Poſſeſſion, were ſway'd by another ſort of Intereſt; they liked Profuſion, as having had a Proſpect to be Gainers by it: They can eaſily ſet their Account even with the State, a ſmall Charge upon their Land is more than ballanc'd by a great Place, or a large Penſion. At the ſame time the People who are to pay all, and expect to receive nothing, are glad to ſee a frugal Court; which tho' it be not ſo good for its Followers, never fails to inrich a Nation.

'Tis true, *Galba* is an Inſtance that the Virtues of a cloſe-handed Prince may be unſucceſsful in Countries govern'd by the Sword, and where the Soldier is riotous, and in long Poſſeſſion of a ſlack Diſcipline. And perhaps in all Abſolute Monarchies, he who Governs ſhould rather lean towards Munificence than Thrift. But Frugality in the State can never be dangerous in a Trading Nation, rul'd by Laws of its own making; and it is not only neceſſary in it ſelf, but profitable in the Example, teaching private Men that good Husbandry in their Domeſtick Affairs,

fairs, which never fails to inrich the whole Body-Politick.

Much nobler is it to enjoy the Praiſes of an Univerſal People, living in Plenty and at their Eaſe, not burthen'd by Taxes and Duties; than to have the good Words of a few Flatterers, or thoſe Harpies which commonly haunt a Court to gripe all they can; who, when they are gorg'd themſelves, pollute all the Remainder with their foul and obſcene Claws, ſo that no Body elſe deſires to touch it. Beſides, we have hardly an Inſtance of any Prince, that in time of Need, was truly aſſiſted and defended by his Minions, and the Creatures of his Bounty and Favour; but a King belov'd for wiſe, juſt and careful Government, has been very ſeldom deſerted by his People.

But ſuppoſe a Prince ſhould deſire to exerciſe in a very ample manner the inbred Magnificence of his Mind; if he will diſcharge the Truſt committed to him by the King of Kings; if he will not make what he counts Virtue diſtructive to his People, he muſt find Matter to ſupply his liberal Inclinations; which he only can do, who ſees that his Miniſters look well after his Income and Expences.

Some Perſons have a ſtrange Notion, That large Payments to the State are not hurt-

hurtful to the Publick; That Taxes make Mony circulate; That it imports not what A pays, when B is to receive it: But we hope to ſhow, that they who argue in this manner, are very much miſtaken.

We have formerly touch'd upon this Matter in the *Diſcourſes on the Revenues, and Trade of* England, to which we refer the Reader; but the Neceſſity of our preſent Argument compels us here to handle this Point ſomething more at large.

Part I. p. 196, 197, 198.

All Nations have a certain Annual Income upon which the People live and ſubſiſt, out of which Taxes of all kinds ariſe; which Income we take to be ſince the War,

In *England*, —— 43,000,000 *l. per An.*
In *France*, —— 81,000,000 *l. per An.*
In *Holland*, —— 18,250,000 *l. per An.*

And we muſt beg leave to repeat, in this place, ſomething which we have laid down in thoſe Tracts; " That to nouriſh the " Maſs of Mankind, as to their Annual " Expence in the Way and Form of Liv- " ing practis'd in each of the three Coun- " tries, ſuch an Innual Income is neceſſary " as is ſet down in the foregoing Scheme. " By Annual Income we mean the whole " that ariſes in any Country, from Land

P. 195.

" and

" and its Product, from Foreign Trade
" and Domeſtick Buſineſs, as Arts, Ma-
" nufactures, *&c.* And by Annual Ex-
" pence, we underſtand what is of Neceſ-
" ſity conſum'd to Cloath and Feed the
" People, or what is requiſite for their
" Defence in time of War, or for their
" Ornament in time of Peace. And
" where the Annual Income exceeds the
" Expence, there is a Superlucration ari-
" ſing, which may be call'd Wealth or
" National Stock. The Revenue of the
" Government is a part of this Annual In-
" come, as likewiſe a part of its Expence;
" and where it bears too large a propor-
" tion with the whole, as in *France*, the
" common People muſt be miſerable, and
" burthen'd with heavy Taxes. That
" part of the Prince's Revenue that nour-
" iſhes his own Perſon is very little; but
" in great Monarchies, where numerous
" Armies, large Fleets, and pompous
" Courts are maintain'd, there the Ex-
" pence ſwells high, inſomuch that to the
" Maintenance of the Governing part,
" *viz.* the Prince, his Officers of State,
" Military Power, *&c.* which are not in
" time of Peace above one 26th of the
" whole, there is required near the Ninth
" Penny of the Annual Income. And in
" ſuch Countries the Governing part are

" Rich

" Rich or at their Eaſe, but the other 25
" parts, who are the Body of the People,
" muſt be oppreſſed with Taxes, as may
" be obſerv'd in the French Dominions.
" And this holds more ſtrongly, where
" the Publick Debts make the Payment
" of a ſixth part of the Annual Income
" neceſſary, which, for ſome time, is like
" to be the Caſe of *France*.

To explain theſe Aſſertions ſhall be the Subject of this Section, whereby it will appear how much the Ballance of Trade may be affected by our Payments to the Publick.

We ſhall endeavour to ſhow, in the laſt Section, That the Wealth of a Country does in a great meaſure proceed from a right Adminiſtration of its Affairs: However, it may happen ſometimes to increaſe in Riches where Things are in the main ill adminiſter'd, as *England* did to the Year 1688, in the two Reigns that preceeded this; but whoever looks carefully into the true Reaſon why we grew ſo faſt in Wealth during thoſe Eight and twenty Years, will find it was becauſe we paid all that time but ſmall Taxes and Duties to the Government, comparatively with other Nations.

For

For in 1688. our groſs Payments to the Publick, in which Charge of Management was included, did not exceed ——— } 2,300,000 *per Annum.*

Which was but little above one 20th Part of the then ——— } 44,000,000 An. Inc.

But our Caſe is very much alter'd, now, and ſince that Year, a great many new Revenues have been erected. We ſtill pay the old Exciſe, the Cuſtoms and Poſt-Mony; beſides which, there is laid Additional Duties upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquids; Additional Cuſtoms, the continued Acts and Joint Stocks, Duty on Marriages, *&c.* double Duty on Stamp'd Paper, Duty on Hackney Coaches, on Malt, The double Tonnage, the former and laſt Duties upon Salt. The Duty on Windows, upon Leather, Paper and Coals.

The

The Old and New Impoſitions of all kinds reckon'd together, and including the new Poll, and the 3 Shillings Aid, it will be found that there was collected from the People about	5,500,000	Laſt Year.
Which is above one eighth part of our preſent	43,000,000	An. Inc.

During all the War, there has been levied here great Sums every Year, and many of the foremention'd Fonds are to continue ſo long, that it will be ſeveral Years before our Annual Payments can be conſiderably diminiſh'd. And there is ſuch a difference between a Twentieth and an Eighth, or indeed a Tenth, or a Twelfth Part (which yet we ſhall not come at in ſome time) as muſt inevitably affect the Nation's Trade, and the whole Body of its People.

When there was rais'd no more than about a Twentieth Part, there were great Sums of Mony to circulate in Foreign Traffick, and to employ in enlarging our Home-

Home-Manufactures, which two Fountains of our Wealth muſt be dry, when the Springs that heretofore fed 'em are diverted, and let into another Channel.

There is ſcarce any of theſe new Revenues, which do not give Trade ſome deſperate Wound. The Additional Duties on Beer and Ale, and the Tax upon Malt, are apparently a Burthen upon the Woollen Manufactures, affecting the Carder, Spinner, Weaver and the Dyer, who all of them muſt be rais'd in their Wages, when the Neceſſaries of Life are rais'd to them. The Conſequence of which will be, That our Woollen Goods muſt come at a heavy and diſadvantagious Price into the Foreign Markets.

There is no Man will pretend, that High Cuſtoms are not pernicious to our Commerce abroad. A Nation is not Gainers in the general Ballance of Trade, by the Dealing of a Few, who are able to employ in it great Stocks; ſuch may make to themſelves an Immenſe Gain, but they go but a little towards inriching the *whole* Publick, which ſeldom thrives, but when, in a manner, the Univerſal People bend their Thoughts to this ſort of Buſineſs; when every one is ready with his ſmall Stock, and little Sum, to venture and rove about the World: Of

theſe ſome proſper, and others are undone; however, in the way of Merchandize, Men who do not thrive themſelves, may yet contribute very much to make their Country Rich, which gets by the Dealings of all, and does not ſuffer by the unfortunate Conduct of here and there a Merchant. But when the Cuſtoms are High, all theſe under Dealers, who all along in *England* have made up the chief Bulk of our Trading Men, muſt hold their Hands, tho' in Skill, Induſtry, and inventive Parts and Wit, they may exceed Merchants of more Wealth, and of a higher Rank. Nor is it indeed practicable for Men of but a moderate Fortune to Deal at all, when more than treble that Sum is neceſſary to have ready now to pay the King, which formerly would ſet up a Subſtantial Trader, and maintain him in ſufficient Buſineſs.

But of all the new Impoſitions, none are ſo dangerous to the very Being of Trade, nor ſo hurtful to all its Parts and Members, as the high Duties lately laid upon Salt. Firſt, They affect the Common People in the whole Courſe of their Living, whoſe chief Nouriſhment is Bacon, and other Salted Fleſh, ſo that this Exciſe has an univerſal Influence upon all our Manufactures whatſoever. But the

Scheme H.

A SCHEME of the Naval
arising thereby, Calculated fo

Exported,	Value here *l.*	Value abroad *l.*	Value upon the
By our Selves,	3,310,000	4,120,000	Value abroad
By Foreigners,	1,000,000	1,250,000	Value here
	4,310,000	5,370,000	
Imported,			
By our Selves,	5,570,000	2,870,000	Value abroad
By Foreigners,	1,550,000	1,150,000	Value here
Groſs Imports,	7,120,000	4,020,000	Groſs Imports
Groſs Exports,	4,310,000	5,370,000	Groſs Exports
In all—	11,430,000	9,390,000	

So the Exports by our own Shipping being ——
Imports by our own Shipping ——
National Gain by our Shipping in the Ballance of Trade —

And the Imports by Foreign Shipping being —
Exports by Foreign Shipping ——

National Loſs by Foreign Shipping in the Ballance of Trade

Place this Scheme p. 147.

Naval Trade of England, *and the National Profit*
lated for the Year, 1688.

	on the Ballance		Gain by Freight, *&c.*	
	l.			*l.*
oad	4,120,000		To our Selves,	810,000
e	1,000,000		To Foreigners,	250,000
	5,120,000			1,060,000
oad	2,870,000		To our Selves,	2,700,000
e	1,550,000		To Foreigners,	400,000
orts	4,420,000		Groſs Imports,	3,100,000
orts	5,120,000		Groſs Exports,	1,060,000
	9,540,000			4,160,000
	Val. abroad			Val. abroad
—	4,120,000	In all	—	6,990,000
	2,870,000			
—	1,250,000			
	Value here			Value here
—	1,550,000	In all	—	2,550,000
	1,000,000			
ade	550,000			9,540,000

the general Prejudice it may bring to Navigation, is yet of much a higher Conſequence.

Mr. *King*, in his Computations of the Naval Trade of *England*, *Anno* 1688. and the National Profit then ariſing thereby, reckoning what Proportion was Navigated by our ſelves at that time, and what by Foreigners, is of Opinion, That with Relation to the value of our whole Trade here at home, our own Navigation was ſomewhat more than three fourths, and the Foreign Navigation near one fourth; But reckoning the value of the Foreign Navigation at the Market here, and of our own at the Markets abroad, then the Foreign Navigation ſeems to have been at that time in Proportion to our own, as one to two three fourths, and with reſpect to the Tunnage of Ships, our own Navigation ſeems to have been at that time two thirds, and the Foreign Navigation one third, according to the following Scheme.

Vide Scheme H.

From whence he Concludes,

	l.
That our Gain upon the Ballance by our own Shiping being — — — —	1,250,000
And our Loſs upon the Ballance by Foreign Shipping being — — — —	0,550,000
The Increaſe of Money, or Adequate Treaſure, by the Ballance of Trade in General, might be *Anno* 1688. — —	700,000

And that the Advantage to Foreigners Trading to *England* in their own Ships, might be at that time in General thus.

	l.
By Freight, or Advance of the Price of our Commodities Exported by them, above the value here — — — —	250,000
By Freight, or Advance of the Price of their own Commodities Imported here above their value abroad — — — —	400,000
In all,	650,000

Beſides,

	l.
Brought over —— ——	650,000
Beſides, the Increaſe of Goods Imported to their own Countries over and above their own Exports, according to the value of them in their own Countries —— —— —— ——	100,000
In all,	750,000

Upon the whole He Concludes,

	l.
Firſt, That the General Increaſe of our Mony or Adequate Treaſure, and of Wares and Commodities over and above the value of our Groſs Exports, was *Anno* 1688. ——	2,810,000
And the Gain made by Foreign Nations with *England*, in their own Shipping, was	750,000
So that the Naval Trade of *England* was at that time, generally profitable to our Selves and Foreigners in all ——	3,560,000
Secondly, That the National Profit to *England* by Foreign Trade was then at leaſt	1,700,000

	l.	
Whereof in Mony or Adequate Treaſure	700,000	
And in Wares or Commodities Treaſur'd up, or applied to the Increaſe of the National Stock, beſides what we conſum'd our ſelves —— ——	1,000,000	1,700,000

Whoever conſiders theſe Computations, will find 'em very Judiciouſly made, and that Mr. *King* has done as much as could be performed meerly by the Strength of Numbers.

To come to an exact Knowledge in this Matter, and ſuch as would be almoſt beyond Contradiction, the Books of the Cuſtoms ſhould be look'd into; and from thence might be drawn an Accompt of all the Exportations from *London*, and the Out Ports to every diſtinct Country; and alſo of all the Importations to *London*, and the Out Ports from every diſtinct Country, and what might at that time be the value of thoſe Goods, being computed

puted by able Merchants: And this to be done for ſome competent Number of Years by reaſonable Mediums, it may be very nearly gueſs'd from ſuch a View, how the Ballance of Trade ſtood from time to time.

But where a thing ſo much within their Reach (and which the *French* Miniſters are ſaid to do in their Exports and Imports) has not been done by the Men of Buſineſs here; there is no way of knowing how the Ballance ſtands, but by conſidering the Numbers of the People, and their probable Conſumption of our Home Product, and of Foreign Materials, from whence a Judgment may be form'd, not indeed perfectly demonſtrable, but very near the Truth.

Mr. *King* obſerves, That by how much the Nation does not conſume of its Imports, but either lays up, or increaſes the Stock of Gold or Silver, or other Adequate Treaſure, or of durable Commodities in Specie; by ſo much, at leaſt, does the Nation gain by Foreign Trade, beſides all other Advantages of Navigation.

'Tis difficult to know how our Navigation has proceeded for theſe ten Years laſt paſt, but 'tis to be feared, That the Gain which Foreigners have made, by

fetching and carrying in their own Bottoms, has been much greater of late, then it was heretofore; which muſt be a very conſiderable Prejudice to *England*, and highly tend to ſet the Ballance of Trade againſt us.

Reckoning long and ſhort Voyages together, the principal Expence of fitting out a Trading Veſſel, is Drink and Meat. The Exciſes and Duty upon Malt, without doubt, make Drink ſufficiently dear to the Freighter. And the Duty upon Salt makes Victualling a very heavy Burthen upon him, all which muſt end in leſſening our Navigation from time to time; for undoubtedly Foreigners obſerving how dear Freight is with us, will Trade in their own Ships as much as poſſible.

In Barrelling up Beef and Pork, we heretofore made uſe of St. *Martin*'s, *&c.* or *Oleron* and *Engliſh* Salt mixed together; and with theſe Materials the Fleſh was beſt prepared, both for wholſomneſs, and long keeping; our own Salt without Foreign Mixture being fiery, corroſive, and very Scorbutick. As we are informed, the St. *Martins*, and worſer ſort of *French* Salt, from 1676, to 1688, was delivered in *London*, at about 2 *l.* 5 *s. per* Tun, and forty Buſhels to the Tun. And that from *Oleron*,

Oleron, at from 2 *l.* 10 *s.* to 2 *l.* 15. *per* Tun. But now the very Duty for forty Buſhels of *Oleron* Salt amounts to 13 *l.* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* beſides the 25 *per Cent. ad valorem*, of which formerly the prime Coſt came to but 2 *l.* 15 *s.* at higheſt: The Duty likewiſe upon forty Buſhels of *Lisbon* Salt comes to 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of which the prime Coſt was formerly, at higheſt, but 3 *l.* 10 *s.* And as to our *Newcaſtle*, and *Limington* Salt, which is now generally made uſe of in Salting Beef and Pork for Trading Veſſels; the very Duty for forty Buſhels amounts to 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* of which, before the War, the prime Coſt came but to 3 *l.* at the deareſt Market: Inſomuch that we are credibly inform'd, a Merchant can ſtore himſelf in *Ireland*, for a long Voyage, with Salt, Beef and Pork, ready pack'd up, almoſt as cheap as he can buy the Salt in *England*.

So that for long Voyages, the Merchant will either Victual in *Ireland*, or Salt his Beef and Pork on ſome Foreign Coaſt, as he Sails along, where Proviſions ſhall be cheap, which muſt bring a great Damage to the Landed Intereſt here; or if he does not do ſo, Victualling will be ſo expenſive to him, as to make Freight much dearer than it ought to be in a Country that expects to thrive by Trade.

The

The Conſequence of all which will be, That the Body of our Merchants muſt lie under a general Diſcouragement; They will neglect looking after National Gain, which *Engliſh* Merchants have perhaps heretofore as much conſider'd in their Dealings, as any Trading Men in the whole Commercial World; They will have an Eye to nothing but their own temporary Profit, and ſuffer Strangers to go away with thoſe Gains which *England* was wont to make by Freight; from whence it will follow, That we muſt decay in our Stock of Shipping, and decreaſe every Year in the breed of Seamen; and when this happens, we muſt no more pretend to ſuch a Naval Strength as has hitherto made us terrible to all our Neighbours.

Trade, without doubt, is in its nature a pernicious thing; it brings in that Wealth which introduces Luxury; it gives a riſe to Fraud and Avarice, and extinguiſhes Virtue and Simplicity of Manners; it depraves a People, and makes way for that Corruption which never fails to end in Slavery, Foreign or Domeſtick. *Licurgus*, in the moſt perfect Model of Government that was ever fram'd, did baniſh it from his Common-wealth. But, the Poſture and Condition of other Countries

tries conſider'd, 'tis become with us a neceſſary Evil. We ſhall be continually expos'd to Inſults and Invaſions without ſuch a Naval Force, as is not to be had naturally but where there is an extended Traffick. However, if Trade cannot be made ſubſervient to the Nation's Safety, it ought to be no more encourag'd here than it was in *Sparta:* And it can never tend to make us ſafe, unleſs it be ſo managed as to make us increaſe in Shipping and in the Breed of Seamen.

Freight is not only the moſt Politick, but the moſt National and moſt certain Profit a Country can poſſibly make by Trade; Therefore all Duties muſt be pernicious that burthen it, and make it dear. And we have dwelt the longer upon this Article of the Salt Duty, becauſe it ſeems to have more dangerous Conſequences, in relation to our Commerce abroad, than all the other Impoſitions put together.

The late Tax upon Coals is a heavy Burthen on all Handicrafts working on Iron, a Manufacture in which we are now come to a great Perfection. And the Skill and Neatneſs of our Work-men is ſuch in Locks, Keys, Hindges, and other Curioſities of this kind; that our Exportations of theſe Commodities may in time grow

grow very conſiderable, if this new Duty does not interrupt their Induſtry.

We have ſhown in ſeveral Inſtances, how the Exciſes lately ſet a foot, may affect us in the general Ballance of Trade. And we have done it with a deſign of making it appear how much it is for the Common Good, to endeavour to get out of thoſe Debts, for which theſe Revenues are the Security and Fund.

Mr. *King*, in a Scheme of his, of the Yearly Increaſe and Decreaſe of the Actual Stock of *England*, from the Year 1600. to 1698. and what it may probably amount to by the Year 1710. if the preſent Peace continue, (and none of thoſe Accidents of Plague, War, Fires and Civil Diſcords intervene, which more or leſs do certainly diminiſh or hinder the Increaſe of the Nations Wealth, whenever they happen) computes, That *Anno* 1600. the ſaid Actual Stock was but about 25 Millions, making a Yearly Increaſe of about 4 or 500,000 *l.* That *Anno* 1630. it was about 37 Millions, making a Yearly Increaſe of about one Million. That in 1664. (the Year before the laſt great Plague) it was about 64 Millions, making a Yearly Increaſe of about 1,200,000 *l.* And that *Anno* 1668. it was about 86 Millions, making a Yearly Increaſe of 2,400,000 *l.*

And

And Concludes,

Firſt, That the laſt Plague, the Fire of *London*, and the *Dutch* War, did actually diminiſh the ſaid Stock, at leaſt 9 or 10 Millions, and hindred the Increaſe of 18 or 20 Millions more.

Secondly, That the laſt War with *France*, with the other Circumſtances of the Revolution, and the Recoyning the Mony, has actually diminiſh'd the ſaid Stock about 12 Millions, and hindred the Increaſe of about 28 Millions beſides.

Thirdly, That the Nation will not arrive to the ſame Degree of Actual Stock, which it had *Anno* 1688. till about the Year 1705. nor make an Increaſe of 2,400,000 *l. per Annum*, as it did in 1688. till about the Year 1706. nor then neither, unleſs the Taxes be conſiderably diminiſh'd; that thereby our Navigation and Commerce may be fully reſtored, to what it was before the late War.

We do not pretend to give any Accompt of the preſent Poſture of our Foreign Trade, nor how it ſtood during all the laſt War, for it would be launching into a very wide Sea; but without doubt, the Immenſe Sums that have been rais'd every Year, and the variety of new Duties that have been lately levied, are a heavy Burthen upon it.

And

And in order to give ſome little Light into this Matter, and to ſhow how the Ballance has been, and may be thereby affected, we ſhall briefly State what Mony has been Anually granted ſince the War.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For *Anno* 1689. Granted for the War, and to pay 60,000 *l.* to King *Charles*'s Servants, and to pay 600,000*l.* to the *Dutch*, in all that Year ——	1,844,786	16	04
For *Anno* 1690. Granted for the War —— ——	2,535,452	01	02
For *Anno* 1691. Granted for the War, and for building Ships ——	4,794,861	07	00½
For *Anno* 1692. Granted (beſides what was paid out of the Revenue of the Crown towards the War) —— ——	3,337,268	08	09½
Carry over ——	12,512,368	13	04

For

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over ——	12,512,368	13	04
For *Anno* 1693. Granted for the War — ——	3,471,482	16	01
For *Anno* 1694. Granted for the War — —	5,030,581	09	09
For *Anno* 1695. Granted for the War — — —	4,883,120	00	06
For *Anno* 1696. Granted for the War, and to make good ſome Deficiences, and to make good the Clipp'd Mony, and for the Civil Liſt, and *French* Proteſtants	7,961,469	00	00
For *Anno* 1697. There was Granted for the War, and to make good the Deficiences of former Funds, and for the Civil Liſt, and *French* Proteſtants	11,887,160	00	9¼
Carry over ——	45,746,182	00	5¼

For

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over——	45,746,182	00	05¼
For *Anno* 1698. There were Funds given, amounting to about —— ——	4,500,000	00	00
Ordinary Revenue of the Crown, reckon'd at a Million *per Annum*, by a Medium during theſe ten Years, might produce in the whole about	10,000,000	00	00
In all,	60,246,182	00	5¼

But

	l.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over ——		60,246,182	--00	--5¼
But in these Articles ſeveral Sums are twice reckon'd; as for Example, where one Fund was taken away, and another given in its place; and where Funds have been granted to ſupply the Deficiencies of other Funds, for which Articles there may be deducted about ——	7,000,000	12,000,000	--00	--00
And the ordinary Crown-Revenue might be charged, during that time, towards the War, with about ——	5,000,000			
So that there has been actually granted but about —— —— ——		48,246,182	--00	--5¼

'Tis not pretended, That the foregoing Accounts are exact to a Tittle; but according to the beſt Information we are able to procure, they are as near the Truth as is requiſite in our preſent Argument.

Having ſhown what has been granted in Fonds, we ſhall now ſhow what was intended by the Parliament; and, for five Years, very little more demanded for the Fleet and Army.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For *Anno* 1689, ——	3,295,628	--04	--05
For *Anno* 1690, ——	4,010,760	--06	--07
For *Anno* 1691, ——	4,172,393	--09	--07½
For *Anno* 1692, ——	3,629,439	--12	--03
For *Anno* 1693, ——	4,117,080	--09	06
For *Anno* 1694, ——	5,030,581	--09	--09
For *Anno* 1695, ——	4,883,120	--00	--06
For *Anno* 1696, ——	5,024,854	--04	--11
For *Anno* 1697, ——	4,880,078	--19	--11
For *Anno* 1698, ——	1,300,000	--00	--00
	40,343,936	--17	--05½

Note, That from *Anno* 1693 incluſive, to *Anno* 1697 incluſive, the difference between what was demanded by the Miniſters, and granted by the Parliament for the Fleet and Army during thoſe Five Years, amounted in the whole time but to 1,465,623 *l.* 19 *s.* 9½ *d.*

Sup-

Suppoſe the Expence of the Civil Liſt from 1689 incluſive, to 1698 incluſive, to have been one Year with another 600,000 *l. per Annum.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Expence of the Civil Liſt then in ten Years may have been	6,000,000	00	00
Towards which the ordinary Revenue of the Crown, beſides what it was charged with to the War, may have yielded about —— ——	5,000,000	00	00
But in 1696 and in 1697, there was granted by the Parliament for the Civil Liſt *per Annum*, 500,000 *l.* in the whole —— ——	1,000,000	00	00
So that in this Computation the Expence of the Civil Liſt is to be reckon'd at but —— ——	5,000,000	00	00

And the Accounts of *England* may run thus,

		l.	s.	d.
Actually granted	——	48,246,182	-00-	05¼
Expence of the War,	40,343,936-17-05¼			
Expence of the Civil List	5,000,000-00-00			
		45,343,936	-17-	05¼
Remains	——	2,902,245	-02-	11¼

So that except in the Article of Intereſt Mony, and except in the Article of 1,465,623 *l.* 19 *s.* 09¼ *d.* in which the Demands of the Miniſters for the State of the War, exceeded what was granted by the Parliament, the Expences of the Government ſeem to have been fully ſupply'd, and that there remains an over-Ballance of 2,902,245 *l.* to be accounted for.

Now as to Intereſt-Mony for the 5,000,000 *l.* with which the Crown-Revenue may have been charg'd towards the War, thoſe Fonds, moſt of 'em, have and will anſwer the Principal and all the Intereſt

Intereſt allow'd by Parliament: And other Intereſt, which ſeveral Fonds fell ſhort of ſatisfying, has been in a great meaſure made good by the Supply of 7,000,000 *l.* granted to anſwer Deficiencies.

And as to the State of the War having exceeded what was granted, in ballancing the general Accompt, this Article ought to be conſidered, if during the whole War the Muſter-Rolls have been full; and if all along we have had our Complement of Ships and Seamen, according to that State of the War which was every Year laid before the Parliament.

But upon the whole Matter, conſidering what has been granted, and what may probably have been expended, there ſeems good Reaſon to think that the Publick of *England*, if all Accompts were narrowly inſpected, cannot be much in Arrear either to the Fleet, Army, or to the Civil Liſt.

So that if there ſhall remain any great Arrear, in all likelihood it muſt chiefly ariſe from exorbitant Premiums, unwarrantable Intereſt, and other ways of laying out Mony, hurtful to the King, and diſtructive to the People.

The rough Draught of our general Accompts here given, which is as perfect

as a By-ſtander only could procure, may perhaps afford ſome little Help to ſuch as will think of theſe Affairs; and this rude Model may contribute towards the forming of a better Scheme.

The Forty eight Millions granted, as we have ſaid, by Parliament for the ſeveral Years from 1689 to 1698 incluſive, have not been actually levied. To ſtate exactly how much of it has been already rais'd, and what proportion of it remains ſecured by remote Fonds, is not to be done without greater Helps than the Writer of theſe Papers can come at: But ſo far we know, and may affirm ſafely, that a great part of the Product of Land, our Trade, and Manufactures, remain ſtill mortgaged for upwards of twenty Millions.

Two of the Nine Pences on Beer and Ale are to be eſteemed as a Perpetuity, the third Nine Pence is engaged for a long Term of Time; the firſt Duty upon Salt can be look'd upon no better than as a perpetual Fond; the new Cuſtoms, continued Acts and Joint-Stocks, the Duty on Marriages, Births, *&c.* the firſt Duty on Stamp'd Paper, the Duty on Windows, half the Duty on Glaſs-Ware, the new Duties on Whale-Fins and Scotch Linnen, are continued to the Firſt of *Auguſt*, 1706. The laſt Duties upon Salt, and Stamp'd Paper,

Paper, are Perpetuities; there is a further Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage granted from the laſt of *January*, 1699. for His Majeſty's Life-time; and the Impoſitions upon Malt, Leather and Paper, are not expired.

To imagine we can buy off and redeem, in any moderate time, all theſe Perpetuities or long Fonds, is a vain Hope; but this may be laid down for a certain Truth, That *England* will never flouriſh in Trade and Manufactures till the greateſt Part of 'em are clear'd, and till our Affairs are brought to ſuch a Poſture, that we may not pay to the Government either for the Support of the Crown, or on Accompt of Fonds, where the Principal is ſunk, above 2,300,000 *l. per Annum*, or about a twentieth part of the Nation's general Income, which was our Condition before the War.

And unleſs this can be compaſs'd it will be found, That in no long Courſe of Time we ſhall languiſh and decay every Year, by Steps eaſy enough to be perceived by ſuch as conſider of theſe Matters. Our Gold and Silver will be carried off by degrees, Rents will fall, the Purchaſe of Land will decreaſe, Wooll will ſink in its Price, our Stock of Shipping will be diminiſhed, Farm-houſes will go to ruin,

Induſtry will decay, and we ſhall have upon us all the viſible Marks of a declining People.

It may indeed be objected, That *France* for about forty, and *Holland* for above a hundred Years have thriven by Trade, notwithſtanding that all the while they have lain under the Burthen of heavy Taxes. To which may be anſwered, That where (as in *France*) the Adminiſtration in other Things is exact and right, the Subjects, though poor, may enlarge their Traffick, for general good Order makes amends for a great deal of Oppreſſion; but they would yet have had more Trade if their Prince had left 'em richer: Beſides, Arbitrary Power has compell'd 'em to that Domeſtick Thrift, which of it ſelf goes very far to make a People ſucceed in Foreign Commerce, tho' their Payments to the Publick are exceſſive. And as to the Dutch they have been ſo long inur'd to this Parſimony, that the more they are to pay the State, the more they ſave at home; and they always take care not to clog their Importations; and from this Polity it comes that high Taxes are not hurtful to their Trade.

But in Countries where the Adminiſtration of Affairs is looſe, partly through the mildneſs of the Laws, and partly through

through the bad Execution of 'em, where the People have been in a long Poſſeſſion of Eaſe and Plenty, and where they think it an Eſſential part of Freedom to be as Expenſive and Luxurious as they pleaſe, and where no Man retrenches upon any publick Accompt whatſoever: Among ſuch a People, high Taxes, Duties, and Impoſitions, muſt inevitably occaſion a decay of Trade; and tho' their Dealings ſeem large and not to be interrupted, they ſhall carry on ſuch a ſort of Traffick as will bring along with it at laſt their certain Ruin.

A variety of new Impoſitions and remote Fonds do not only hurt us in the Ballance of Trade, as we have ſhown, but they are dangerous to Liberty, without which, Trade can never truly flouriſh, and without which it is indeed of no Importance; for to what end ſhould Men acquire Wealth, which they cannot call their own? And accordingly under Deſpotick Governments (except in ſome places where the Adminiſtration of the Tyranny is very wiſely carried on) but few trouble themſelves with the Thoughts of Foreign Traffick.

Whoever conſiders the vaſt number of new Duties now a-foot, will find that 'tis not impoſſible to make 'em the Engines where-

wherewith bad Men, ſome time or other, may endeavour to undermine our Civil Rights. 'Tis true, in this Reign we have no reaſon to entertain ſuch a Fear, but a Country that will preſerve its Conſtitution muſt provide againſt remote Dangers.

At preſent we pay to the Government, beſides the Three Shillings Aid and Poll-Mony, ſo many Duties, Old and New, as amount to about Three Millions and a half *per Annum*. Some of 'em, 'tis true, expire ſhortly. But ſuppoſe Neceſſity or bad Management (and there is nothing which ill Husbandry cannot devour) ſhould compel us to continue what is now expiring for a longer time; and admit that for preſent Subſiſtance, and to pay old Debts, theſe Fonds of Three Millions and a half *per Annum* ſhould be ſettled as a Security to Lenders, for ſome certain time to come.

Suppoſe then a Government in the Poſſeſſion of ſuch a large Revenue at firſt legally granted, put into a Method of Collection, and to the Payment of which the People ſhall be accuſtomed.

And ſuppoſe, in ſome future Reign, the Miniſters ſhould be either weary or afraid of Parliaments, and deſirous to Govern by the Sword, and without Law. That this may happen is not impoſſible, becauſe

cauſe we have heretofore ſeen Stateſmen ſo diſpos'd.

'Tis to be hoped this is a Danger very remote indeed; but when a Miniſtry ſhall be ſo madly inclin'd, the Symptoms of their approaching Frenzy will be evident enough; for at ſuch a Seaſon we ſhall ſee 'em chooſe rather to be ſupply'd by diſtant Fonds, than with what will produce ready Mony: And they will take care that Revenues granted may not be well managed nor improved to the Height, with this Deſign, That the People may be kept in the dark, both as to what they give, and as to what each Branch is like to yield.

Suppoſe then an Ambitious and Deſperate Set of Men, with all theſe Thoughts about 'em, and reſolved to make their Maſter Abſolute, may they not, with the Help of ſuch an ample Revenue, quite overthrow our Conſtitution? Arbitrary Miniſters have heretofore ſtopp'd the Exchequer; and if we ſhould ever ſee Men of the ſame Stamp upon the Stage of Buſineſs, 'tis not impoſſible but that they may run into the ſame wicked Meaſures, eſpecially if they ſhould be back'd with the Support of a Standing Army.

The

The Liberties of a People are but in a very precarious Condition, when they can be ſubverted by one pernicious Counſel: It ſhould therefore be the Care of ſuch as love their Country, to render this fatal Advice as dangerous and impracticable as Laws can make it.

At a time when there is ſuch an Immenſe Revenue collected every Year, it ſeems a Fault in our Conſtitution that ſufficient Proviſion is not made againſt diverting and miſapplying the Publick Treaſure, and againſt breaking into Appropriated Fonds. And to ſpeak in plain Words, There is reaſon to fear that the Laws have not made it Criminal enough to ſtop Payments in the Exchequer.

When a Town that apprehends a Siege finds it ſelf weak by Nature in one place, the firſt Care of the Defenders is to fortifie that Poſt as well as ever they can. In the ſame manner a Conſtitution that is attackable one way, ſhould ſtrengthen that Part with ſevere Laws. The Exchequer therefore ſhould be fenced about with all poſſible Skill, that it may never be invaded by bold and deſigning Miniſters.

A Stop there would at once pull down all our Civil Rights. Nay, to ſtop the Principal only, tho' the Payments of the In-

Intereſt ſhould be continued, would be fatal to our Conſtitution, for there would yet remain an Income large enough to make Parliaments uſeleſs. And if wicked Men ſhould thus ſet up for themſelves, they would ſtill have Revenue ſufficient to bear their Expences, and to keep up an Army to awe ſuch as their Conduct ſhall diſpleaſe.

Some indeed will argue, That a corrupted Miniſtry will as ſoon make new Levies of Mony, as venture thus to divert what has been already granted and appropriated: But this Objection has no weight in it. The People more willingly ſubmit to a Tax once lawful, than to pay a new Duty againſt Law. The Tonnage and Poundage illegally levied in the former part of King *Charles* I.'s Reign, did not occaſion half the Clamour as the new Impoſition of Ship-Mony. In the beginning of King *James* II.d's Reign, the Tonnage and Poundage, and Temporary Exciſe, determined by King *Charles* his Death, was paid without oppoſition; but if King *James* had attempted to raiſe a new Tax by the Regal Authority, his Subjects without doubt would not have paid it. Beſides, when a Tax is lawful in its Original, 'tis to be feared that the People will not much concern themſelves who

who is to receive it, the Court, or ſuch as have truſted the Exchequer; but they would be alarm'd to ſome purpoſe if they ſhould be called upon to make new Payments not warranted by Law. So that in all probability more Danger may ariſe to our Liberties from breaking into old Fonds appropriated, and ſtopping the Exchequer, than from making new and forcible Levies upon the Subject.

And though there is no Cauſe in this Reign to fear ſuch Attempts, yet it muſt certainly be Wiſdom to provide againſt future Evils, eſpecially when 'tis poſſible that one deſperate and wicked Council may deſtroy that Conſtitution for which we have been ſo long contending.

The true way to hinder ſuch a Diſeaſe from ever coming upon the Body-Politick will be to remove the Cauſe, by leſſening aſſoon as poſſible theſe Payments to the Publick of three Millions and a half *per Annum*, beſides Polls and Land-Taxes; which large Iſſues may endanger Liberty, and without doubt hurt us in the Ballance of Trade.

The Debts for which theſe Fonds are a Security, by Negligence will every Year increaſe, inſomuch that in a very ſhort time, and with a very little more Careleſsneſs, the Raiſing more and more will grow

grow unavoidable for our common Defence, till at laſt we ſhall come to pay conſtantly between five and ſix Millions *per Annum*. And when this Kingdom ſhall be arrived at that Period of ill Conduct, we may venture to Pronounce, That the Common People of *England* will in all Circumſtances be then as poor and miſerable, as the Common People of *France* were before the War. And we deſire all good Patriots to carry this Reflection in their minds.

On the contrary by good Management this Debt may be leſſen'd, ſo that the Fonds which are its Security (inſtead of of being continued) may be dropt every Year, till at laſt we may come to pay to the Government for its Support and Defence, ſuch a Sum as will not be dangerous to our Freedoms, nor prejudicial to our Foreign Traffick.

He who propoſes Thrift may pleaſe the Common People, but he ſhall be ſure to diſguſt ſome others; However the Writer of theſe Papers thinks it his Duty to Recommend Frugality in the State; and he believes 'tis the Wiſeſt and Honeſteſt way of Inriching the Publick, to make it Rich out of its own Revenues.

As

As to what Improvements may be made in the Revenues already granted, we refer the Reader to what we have formerly ſaid upon this Subject in our Diſcourſes on the Revenues and Trade of *England*; We have laid down that ſeveral Branches there ſpecified may, by good Management, and without Oppreſſion, be Annually Encreaſed 736,075*l.*

Part I. pag. 119.

Nor upon Enquiry ſince, do we find any Reaſon to receed from this Opinion; on the contrary we have good Cauſe to think, that they are rather Capable of greater Improvements than we had then taken notice of.

The *Malt* is indeed an Article in that Accompt; but 'tis an expiring Duty which the People of *England* hope never to ſee continued, therefore an Abatement is to be made upon that Head: But the remaining Branches, if well look'd after, would eaſe us of very many Burthens.

In that Diſcourſe, we have ſhown ſeveral Reaſons not yet Anſwered, Why the Exciſe on Beer and Ale ſingle and double is Improvable in the whole 318,000 *l. per Annum*, but inſtead of riſing, the Exciſe is again fallen ſince the Accompt was Stated.

Single

	l.
Single and Double Exciſe Year Ending 24 *June*, 1697. Produced about —— ——	900,000.
The ſaid Duties, Year Ending 24 *June* 1698. Produced about —— ——	860,000.
The Duties fallen, about	40,000.

So that the Exciſe now almoſt Doubled produces but about the ſame Sum which it yielded formerly with the ſingle Duty only upon it; for which we ſhall preſume to ſay, the Managers neither have given, nor can give, any well grounded and ſolid Reaſon.

When we conſider how much the Exciſe was Advanced in ſix Years by good Management, we cannot but be of Opinion, that a very great Sum might be Raiſed every Year towards Clearing the groſs Debt, by Skill and careful Conduct, in ſuch as Govern the reſpective Branches.

But tho it imports the State to a high Degree to have the utmoſt of its Legal Dues, and juſt Revenues, fairly brought in, yet a great deal more depends upon having this Revenue Frugally and Wiſely

laid out; For, as in private Inſtances, He who lives with Oeconomy, ſhall be Richer, tho his Gains are but ſmall, than a Prodigal, let his Gettings be never ſo large; So Governments which manage their Affairs thriftily, ſhall have more Wealth than States which have the way to obtain never ſo large Contributions from their People.

What is to be got by good Management in bringing in the Revenues, is nothing in compariſon of what may be ſaved in laying out the Publick Treaſure, one way the Proffit is limited and narrow, and the other boundleſs, one way we can reckon but by Hundreds, the other way by Millions.

Teſtament Politique Part 2. C. 9. Sect. 7.

A *Venetian* Ambaſſador once told Cardinal *Richlieu*, That there needed no more to make *France* happy, than wiſely to lay out what was vainly diſſipated. *Qu'elle Scut auſſi bien deſpenſer ce qu'elle diſſipoit ſans Raiſon que la Republique ſcavoit bien n'employer pas un ſeul Quadrain ſans beſoin, et ſans beaucoup de Menage.*

A State muſt be plunged into endleſs Debts and Difficulties, unleſs it has a ſtrict Eye over all its Expences, eſpecially ſuch as relate to a War, which is always a greedy Monſter, but Devours much more when 'tis left to feed at random.

To

To come at ſuch a future Thrift as may bring us out of that Debt which lies ſo heavy in the other Scale when we conſider of the Ballance of Trade; One way perhaps will be ſeverely to Enquire how the Forty eight Millions already given have been Expended: Beſides it will not peradventure be difficult to ſhow that of the many Millions ſtill owing, a large Sum might be ſaved, if the Publick Accompts from their very beginning were overhaled.

A Government that will get out of Debt, muſt look nicely into every particular; It ought in Prudence to examine into all Grants made by the Crown, when the People lay under the Burthen of Heavy Taxes.

'Tis ſaid that the Forfeitures in *Ireland*, and the Lands poſſeſſed by the Crown in 1688, would ſatisfie a large part of what the Publick is now Indebted.

'Tis alledged that Gains unwarrantable in Law, and not to be juſtified by any Neceſſity whatſoever, have been made in ſeveral Contracts with the Crown, if all this were look'd into, very probably ſomething might be ſav'd towards diſcharging the Nations Debts.

There is one piece of Management which the Writer of theſe Papers is very much ſurprized at, and it relates to the Exchequer Bills.

	l.	*l.*
The firſt Subſcription at 10 *per Cent*, was for	400,000.	Premium 40,000.
The ſecond Subſcription at 10 *per Cent*, was for	700,000.	Premium 70,000.
The third Subſcription at 10 *per Cent*, was for	500,000.	Premium 50,000.
The 4th. Subſcription at 8 *per Cent*, was for	400,000.	Premium 32,000.
The fifth Subſcription at 4 *per Cent*, was for	1,000,000.	Premium 40,000.
Total Subſcriptions	3,000,000. tot. Prems.	232,000.

Beſides

Beſides, theſe Premiums there is a Current Intereſt upon the Bills of above 7½ *per Cent*, And 'tis likewiſe obſervable, that the whole ſtruck into Exchequer Bills is but 2,700,000 *l.* to circulate which there has been a Subſcription of 3 Millions, ſo that the Engine which carries, is heavier than the weight it bears, which ſeems but clumſy Workmanſhip; beſides 'tis remarkable that there is yet ſunk of theſe Bills but 1,250,000 *l.* And of the Exchequer Bills a vaſt Sum are become Specie Notes at the Current Intereſt, tho Mony now lies, or ought to lie, for their diſcharge.

There is likewiſe another piece of Oeconomy after which, ſometime or other, it may be worth while to make Enquiry. The Old *Eaſt-India* Company offer'd to raiſe the two Millions then wanted, and to depoſit 200,000 *l.* to make good their Propoſal, nor did they propoſe or expect any Premium or Deduction whatſoever; Yet their Offer was diſcouraged and rejected by ſome of our Men of Buſineſs; and the ſame Perſons have thought it reaſonable to alow to the New Company a Premium of 62,500 *l.* which was defalk'd out of the firſt Payment of 200,000 *l.* part of which Premium is contrary to the Expreſs direction of the Act of Parliament.

'Twill coſt *England* a large Tax to raiſe the Sums laviſh'd in theſe two Inſtances, but we ſhall ſay no more upon theſe Particulars, leaving the Reader to make his own Comment upon ſuch unaccountable Proceedings.

When the Affairs of a Private Man are in diſorder, he ſinks faſter towards the later end than in the beginning; The ſame thing holds in a Government whoſe Revenues are entangled, the further it goes the more the Debt ſwells, unleſs ſuch as are concern'd in the Adminiſtration reſolve before it be too late, to enter upon Wiſe and Thrifty Meaſures.

Where the King's Perſon is belov'd, where his Virtues are rever'd, and where the Government is of the Peoples own Forming, and Election, the Subjects will ſeldom fail to exert themſelves ſtrongly, and are very willing to ſtretch their Purſes, in order to put the Publick Revenues into ſuch a poſture that the Adminiſtration may be eaſie, and that the Kingdom may be protected; but they muſt be invited to this by ſeeing that what they give is Frugally managed, and not Profuſely waſted, and by obſerving that their Mony goes to Support the State, and not to Enrich Private Perſons.

Men

Men when they are worn out with Diſeaſes, Aged, Crazy, and when beſides they have the *Mala Stamina Vitæ*, may be patched up for a while, but they cannot hold out long; for Life, tho' it is ſhortned by Irregularities, is not to be extended by any Care beyond ſuch a Period. But it is not ſo with the Body-Politick, by Wiſdom and Conduct that is to be made long-liv'd, if not Immortal; Its Diſtempers are to be cured, nay its very Youth is to be renew'd, and a Mix'd Government grows Young and Healthy again, whenever it returns to the Principles upon which it was firſt founded.

The Diſorders we labour under are capable of a Remedy, and our Difficulties are not ſuch but that they may be maſter'd: Thoſe Payments to the Publick, by good Management may be leſſened, which inevitably muſt ſet the Ballance of Trade againſt us.

While theſe Immenſe Debts remain, the Neceſſities of the Government will continue, Intereſt muſt be high, and large Premiums will be given. And what Encouragement is there for Men to think of Foreign Traffick (whoſe Returns for thoſe Commodities that inrich *England* muſt bring no great Profit to the private Adventurers) when they can ſit

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at home, and without any Care or Hazzard get from the State by dealing with the Exchequer, Fifteen and ſometimes Twenty, Thirty, Forty and Fifty *per Cent.?* Is there any Commerce abroad ſo conſtantly advantagious? Will Men who can ſafely, and without Trouble, reap ſuch Gains, breed their Children to be Merchants? Will they venture great Stocks to make Diſcoveries, and employ their Induſtry to enlarge and extend our Dealings in diſtant Parts? Will they think of building that multitude of Trading Veſſels which alone can rear us up a ſufficient Breed of able Seamen? And if that Tide of Wealth which was wont to flow in Trade, be diverted to another Channel; and if we mind no other Traffick but that which juſt ſupplies our Luxuries, muſt we not in a few Years be Loſers in the general Ballance?

Where Intereſt is high, the Merchants care not to deal in any but rich Commodities, whoſe Freight is eaſy, and whoſe Vent is certain in corrupted Countries; And of theſe Coſtly Wares very many carry out Mony, and but few bring any back to the Kingdom. 'Tis the Bulky Goods, whoſe Returns are not of ſo great Profit, that breed moſt Seamen, and that are moſt Nationally gainful; but ſuch Goods

Goods cannot be very much dealt in where Intereſt is high, nor can any Laws in the World lower it where great Sums are continually borrow'd by the Government. And by theſe Inſtances it muſt ſufficiently appear, how much our Payments to the Publick may affect the Ballance of Trade.

And, treating upon this Subiect, we cannot but take Notice, where the Prince is frequently abſent from his own Dominions, ſojourning for a long ſpace of time in a Foreign Country, in which He, His Court, and His whole Retinue are oblig'd to make great Expences, That this is highly prejudicial to the Ballance of Trade, and, without doubt, muſt incline the Scale to that Nation's Side where the Mony is ſpent.

Upon the whole Matter, If the Revenues already granted are well look'd after, and improv'd; if the Accompts of the Fleet and Army are carefully inſpected; if the Grants are ſtrictly examin'd; if the State enters intirely upon Frugal Meaſures; and if we reſolve to exert our Selves, ſo as not to let this dangerous Burthen lie long upon us, this Great Debt may be clear'd in ſome moderate time, and thoſe large Payments to the Publick will ceaſe, which are like ſo

many bloody Iſſues that emaciate the Body-Politick, and render it Hectical and Conſumptive; and, if this Debt were paid, we ſhould get rid of that variety of new Exciſes, and high Cuſtoms, which hurt Foreign Traffick, and interrupt us in our Domeſtick Buſineſs, and which are more eſpecially a heavy Weight upon the Woollen Manufacture.

Even in a Common-wealth 'tis dangerous for one part of the People to be very much indebted to the other; and in *Rome* it was the occaſion of great Seditions. When the State has borrow'd large Sums, and iſſued out Securities by Tallies upon different Fonds, 'tis commonly ſaid the Publick is ſo and ſo indebted; but in truth the Caſe is otherwiſe, and more properly ſpeaking, theſe ſort of Fonds divide a Country into two Ranks of Men, of which one are Creditors and the other Debtors; and this Diſtinction does without doubt belong to all Nations where the People pay Taxes to one another, as it now happens to be our Caſe in *England*. The *Creditors* are the Bank, ſuch as deal with the Publick for Stores, Lenders of all kinds, beſides a great many Foreigners, whoſe Mony is lent to the State in Engliſh Names. The *Debtors* are the Landed Men, the 5th or 6th part of

of whoſe Rents are pawn'd for the Publick Service from Year to Year, by Aids and Land-Fonds. All Merchants likewiſe who pay Cuſtoms, and all Shopkeepers and Retailers are, according to our Diſtinction, to be accompted *Debtors*. Thus almoſt all *England* may not be improperly divided into *Debtors* and *Creditors*, nor in a long and expenſive War was this wholly to be avoided, but without doubt it cannot be wiſe nor ſafe to let this Diſtinction long continue; for tho' ſuch as Receive may like their Condition and think themſelves at Eaſe, yet ſuch as are to Pay cannot be ſo well contented. 'Tis true, ſome modern Politicians have run upon another Notion; and ſeveral Perſons have thought that the more Fonds are erected, the more People are engaged to preſerve the preſent Government. This Policy indeed of theirs would hold good if they could make out, That the Lenders are ſtronger; and more in number than ſuch as are concern'd in Payments to the Publick: But it rather ſeems to hold in Senſe and Reaſon, That the Throne of that Prince, in a Free Nation, muſt be the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed, whoſe Affairs permit him to ask the feweſt Taxes from his People.

France

France was once upon a right foot in relation to its Liberties; and they who peruſe their Hiſtory with Care will find, That Arbitrary Power did not ſo much bring in high Taxes, as high Taxes introduced Arbitrary Power; for when that Golden Idol of an Immenſe Revenue was once ſet up, all the Nation bowed to it.

In the Second and Third Sections we have ſhown, That the probable Methods to make a Country Gainers in the Ballance of Trade, are to take Care of Increaſing and Employing the People, and to Improve Land and its Product. In this Fourth Section we have ſet forth how this Ballance may be affected by our Payments to the Publick. And in the laſt Diſcourſe we ſhall endeavour to ſhow, That the Wealth and Proſperity of a State depend chiefly upon a wiſe, ſteady and honeſt Adminiſtration.

SECT.

SECT. V.

That a Country cannot Increaſe in Wealth and Power but by Private Men doing their Duty to the Public, and but by a ſteady Courſe of Honeſty and Wiſdom, in ſuch as are truſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs.

AT Romæ ruere in Servitium Conſules, Patres, Eques, quanto quis illuſtrior, tanto magis falſi ac feſtinantes. *But at* Rome *they all ran headlong into Slavery, the Conſuls, the Senate, the Gentry and the nobler the perſon was, tho more falſe, and the greater haſte he made.* This was the Condition of *Rome* when *Tiberius* aſſum'd the Empire, but God forbid it ſhould be ever the Caſe of *England*, for our Conſtitution will be entirely loſt when ſuch a Corruption happens; we may indeed preſerve the Name of Liber-

ty, and ſome of its outward Forms, but no more than what will help to keep our Chains the faſter on: Tyrannies have been often ſubverted, where the Princes govern meerly by their own Will, without giving to their Subjects the leaſt appearance of being free; but thoſe abſolute Monarchies are hardly to be ſhaken, and that Servitude is laſting, where the People are left to make their own Fetters.

It is a matter of great wonder, that from the Time of *Auguſtus* downwards, the *Romans*, who were ſeldom without Brave and Virtuous Men, ſhould never make One Attempt to reſtore the Commonwealth, and to ſhake off that Power which ſome of the Emperors exercis'd with ſuch exorbitance; but in all likelyhood it proceeded from this, that the Souldiers and Common People, without whom no great Revolution can be made, believ'd themſelves ſtill free, becauſe, in ſhow, the Commonwealth had the ſame Form as in elder times: there was a Senate, Conſuls, Tribunes, and an appearance of all the Antient Magiſtracies, tho nothing remain'd of the antient Liberty: But this the Common People did not feel, for the Cruelty and Fraud of *Tiberius*, the Madneſs of *Caligula*, the Stupi-

di-

dity of *Claudius*, the Riots and Luſt of *Nero*, the Gluttony and Sordid Mind of *Vitellius*, the Vanities of *Otho*, and the Enormous Vices of *Domitian* did little hurt to the Inferiour Rank of Men, who all the while had *Panem & Circenſes*, which was all they deſir'd; but the Miſchiefs theſe Monſtrous Princes brought upon the World, fell chiefly upon Nobler Heads; who yet could not reſcue their Country, ſo much were the Common People lull'd aſleep, with the Opinion they entertain'd, that the Laws ſtill govern'd, becauſe they ſaw every year Conſuls and a Senate; but this Senate being corrupted, made the Tyranny boundleſs and ſafe: For the People could never be induc'd to oppoſe that Power which ſtill bore ſome Reſemblance to their Antient Form of Government.

In the ſame manner, if in future Ages our Parliaments ſhould be debauch'd in Principles, and become willing to be the Inſtruments of a Prince's Will, and to act as he directs them, Arbitrary Power would be here ſettled upon a laſting Foot; for the Common People would never join with any who would attempt to redeem their Country, becauſe they will be deceiv'd by Names and Forms, and think the Laws govern'd, and that they are

free, if the outward ſhow of the Conſtitution is ſtill preſerv'd.

When Cotruption has ſeiz'd upon the Repreſentatives of a People, 'tis like a Cronical Diſeaſe hardly to be rooted out. When Servile Compliance and Flattery come to predominate, things proceed from bad to worſe, till at laſt the Government is quite diſſolv'd. Abſolute Monarchies are in danger of great Convulſions, when one Man, their Prince, happens to be weak, or wicked; but Commonwealths, or mix'd Conſtitutions are ſafe till the Chief Part of the Leading Men are debauch'd in Principles. However, Monarchy has this Advantage, that the one Man, their Prince, is mortal, and if bad, he may be ſucceeded by a better; but a people thoroughly corrupted never returns to right Reaſon; And we ſee that the depravity of Manners, which began in *Rome* preſently after the ſecond *Punic* War, among the Nobility and Gentry, became every year worſe and worſe, till at laſt *Cæſar* deſtroyed the Commonwealth. And after his time, under the ſucceeding Emperors, every Senate grew more abject and complying than the other, till in Proceſs of Time the old *Roman* Spirit was utterly extinguiſh'd, and then that Empire by degrees be-

became a Prey to Barbarous Nations.

If all parts of the State do not with their utmoſt power promote the Publick Good, if the Prince has other Aims than the ſafety and welfare of his Country, if ſuch as repreſent the People do not preſerve their Courage and Integrity, If the Nations Treaſure is waſted, If Miniſters are allow'd to undermine the Conſtitution with Impunity, If Judges are ſuffer'd to pervert Juſtice and wreſt the Law, then is a mixt Government the greateſt Tyranny in the world; it is Tyranny eſtabliſh'd by a Law, 'tis authoris'd by Conſent, and ſuch a People are bound with Fetters of their own making. A Tyranny that governs by the Sword, has few Friends but Men of the Sword, But a Legal Tyranny (where the People are only call'd to confirm Iniquity with their own Voices) has of its Side the Rich, the Fearful, the Lazy, thoſe that know the Law, and get by it, Ambitious Churchmen, and all thoſe whoſe Livelihood depends upon the quiet Poſture of Affairs; Aud the Perſons here diſcrib'd compoſe the Influencing Part of moſt Nations; So that ſuch a Tyranny is hardly to be ſhaken off. Men may be ſaid to be inſlav'd by Law, or their own Conſent, under Corrupt or degenerate

Republicks, ſuch as was the *Roman* Commonwealth from the time of *Cinna*, till the Attempts of *Cæſar*, and under degenerate mix'd Governments, ſuch as *Rome* was while the Emperors made a ſhow of Ruling by Law, but with an aw'd and corrupted Senate: To which Form of Government, *England* was almoſt reduc'd, till the King came over to put our Liberties upon a better Foot.

But what has been, may be, and tho we are ſafe during his Reign, yet in after Ages, bad and deſigning Miniſters may think their Conduct is no way to be maintain'd but by the Sword, and that they cannot ſecurely prey upon the Commonwealth, till they have made their Maſter abſolute, upon which Score, in theſe Inquiries concerning the Methods whereby *England* may be a Gainer in the General Ballance of Trade, we think it needful to lay down, That all that Wealth and Power which muſt defend this State upon any Emergencies or Invaſions from abroad, depends upon our preſerving inviolate the antient Conſtitution of this Kingdom.

Men do as induſtriouſly contrive Fallacies to deceive themſelves (when they have a Mind to be deceiv'd) as they ſtudy Frauds whereby to deceive Others;

And

And if it leads to their Ends, and gratifies their preſent Ambition, they care not what they do, thinking it time enough to ſerve the Public, when they have ſerv'd themſelves; and in this view very many betray their Truſts, Comply, Give up the Peoples Rights, and let Fundamentals be invaded, flattering themſelves, that when they are grown as great as they deſire to be, 'twill be then time enough to make a ſtand, and redeem the Commonweulth. The ſame Notion led *Pompey* to joyn with thoſe who intended to Subvert the *Roman* Liberties; But he found them too ſtrong, and himſelf too weak, when he deſir'd to ſave his Country.

In the ſame manner, if there be any in this Nation who deſire to build their Fortunes upon the Publick Ruin, they ought to conſider that their great Eſtates, high Honours and Preferments, will avail 'em little when the Subverſion of Liberty has weaken'd and impoveriſh'd us ſo, as to make way for the bringing in of Foreign Power.

It imports all Degrees of Men in their ſeveral Poſts, to endeavour at the Preſerving that Form of Government, under which we have proſper'd for near ſeven hundred Years. It happens ſeldom that

any Country is totally ſubdu'd by Foreign Force, and Civil War is indeed a raging Fever; but it goes away of itſelf, when the Humours that fed it are ſpent, and is often no more than the Sign of a Health too florid, and the Effects only of too much Blood in the Body Politick: But ill Conduct in a State long continued, waſtes it by ſlow and certain degrees, and at laſt brings an incurable Conſumption upon all its Parts and Members.

If the Affairs of this Kingdom ſhould ever happen to be ill conducted, which we hope is a Remote Fear, the Legiſlative Power muſt then interpoſe with its Authority, and the united Wiſdom of the Nation muſt reſcue Us out of weak and polluted hands, for ſuch a Miniſtry is a ſurer Engine to deſtroy a State, than any its Enemies can bring againſt it.

'Tis true, ſuch as would correct Errors, and watch that no Invaſion may be made on Liberty, have been heretofore call'd a Faction by the Perſons in Power; but 'tis not properly their Name, and ought to be given to another ſort of Men.

'Tis wrong to call them the Faction, who by all dutiful and modeſt Ways promote the Cauſe of Liberty, as the true means to endear a Prince to his Sub-

Subjects, and to lay upon them a ſtronger tye and obligation to preſerve his Government. For a People will certainly beſt love and defend that Prince, by whom the greateſt Immunities and moſt good Laws have been granted.

They cannot properly be term'd the Faction, who deſire a War ſhould be manag'd upon ſuch a Foot of Expence as the Nation is able to bear; Who would have the Publick Treaſure not waſted, the Prince not deceiv'd in his Grants and Bargains, who would have the Miniſtry watchful and Induſtrious, and who, when they complain, are angry with Things and not with Perſons.

The Name of Faction does more truly belong to them, who, tho the Body Politick has all the Signs of Death upon it, yet ſay all is well, that the Riches of the Nation are not to be exhauſted, that there is no miſgovernment in all its Buſineſs, that it feels no decay, and that its OEconomy is perfect, and who, all the while, are as arrogant and aſſuming as if they had ſav'd that very People, whom their Folly and mad Conduct has in a manner ruin'd.

They may be rather term'd the Faction, who were good Patriots out of the Court, but are better Courtiers in it, and who

who pretended to fear exceſs of Power while it was not communicated to them, but never think the Monarchy can be high enough advanc'd, when they are in the Adminiſtration.

In Nations (where for a long time Matters have not been plac'd upon a Foot of Honeſty) their great Aſſemblies conſiſt commonly of two Parties, in both of which Sides there are many who have the ſame right Intentions to the Public, and many, who in all their Councils conſult only their private Intereſt.

Of one ſide, ſome out of Principle love their Country, and are jealous of its Liberties; and yet at the ſame time are careful of their Princes Honour and Intereſt. In all their Proceeding they have nothing in view but the Public Good, They ſtudy not ſo much how to blame the Paſt, as which way the Future is to be mended; They do not accuſe the Stateſman, and yet let the Fault continue, as well knowing, that Impeachments of Men, and not of Crimes produce new, but ſeldom better Miniſters.

They deſire the Neceſſities of the State ſhould be well ſupply'd, the Perſon of the Prince reverenc'd, and his Government maintain'd. When his Miniſters have made falſe ſteps, or when their Councils have

have had unſucceſsful Events, they deſire not to inflame the Aſſembly where they ſit, but are willing rather to aſſiſt with their ſuperior knowledge, and to bring the minds of Men to the Temper and Calmneſs that is proper in weighty Deliberations.

Perſons of this Character are in moſt Aſſemblies of a People, but they are often joind and follow'd by ſuch as have quite another View and Aim, and who in all their Actings, conſult not the Common Welfare, but either wreak their own Diſcontents, or purſue ſome Ambitious Hope, and upon ſuch, or the like Accompts, mix themſelves with the wiſer and better ſort; However the Good and the Bad, being thus mingled and blended, compoſe altogether what in vitious times is called the Country Party.

On the other ſide, there are ſome very nice in what may intrench upon the Regal Authority, yet never forgetful of the Peoples Rights; 'Tis true, their Poſt often compells them to excuſe all Faults, tho guilty of none themſelves, They are forc'd too frequently to move for Mony, but wiſh there was leſs occaſion for it: They hate not ſuch as differ from 'em in Opinion, and ſecretly approve of the Right Courſe, which ſometimes they muſt not fol-

follow; but with ſuch as have been here deſcrib'd, there will too often join an Ignorant, Mercenary, and Servile Crew, who like all things, and examin nothing, Unanimous in Evil, Diligent in Miſchief, Variable in Principles; Conſtant to Flattery, Talkers for Liberty, but Slaves to Power. Such as theſe will too frequently in vitious times mingle with the ſound Part of a Court, ſtiling themſelves the Court Party, and the Princes only Friends.

In former Reigns, by the Artifice of deſigning Stateſmen, the Repreſentatives of the People were divided into thoſe two Parties; Beſides, in moſt Aſſemblies which meet by the Authority of a ſingle Perſon, there are ſtill ſome who are thought to have the Secret, and they ſtile themſelves the *Managers*: The Eyes of every one are bent upon them, their words are obſerv'd, and in moſt things they give the firſt Turn; At Court indeed they pretend to ſway and and govern every Motion: but in Matters eſteem'd indifferent, they carry with 'em many of the beſt ſort, and are certainly followed by all ſuch as are willing to be guided. Theſe are believ'd to have weigh'd before hand, and to know what is wiſeſt, moſt ſafe, moſt expedi-

ent,

ent, or at leaſt moſt grateful; And when they appear, it is imagin'd there has been put into their Heads the whole extracted Quinteſcence of all the Miniſterial Wiſdom. In the Houſe they undertake for the Court, and at Court for the Houſe, receiving ſingly, the Thanks of what proceeds from the joynt Affection of all the reſt, and are thought alone to give what the whole Nation pays.

To tell what time deſigning Men began to erect for themſelves this new Office, and when and how this Impoſition took its Riſe, would be too long a Digreſſion from the preſent Matter; but we may truly affirm, Things have never gone well with our Princes, nor their People, ſince it was firſt invented.

Good Kings at all times, without any Danger, may repoſe their intire concerns upon a Houſe of Commons, the National Intereſt will go on there without driving, and when Difficulties ariſe, the Miniſters only make them; For when the King and People have but one Intereſt, it goes on of its own Accord, and ſuch as ptetend to be buſy for the Prince in that Place, are working for themſelves, and not for him.

But if in after Ages our Diſorders and Corruptions ſhould make this Office Neceſſary;

ceſſary; If there muſt be Managers, If ſome muſt lead and others follow, 'tis reaſonable the Guides ſhould be well inſtructed.

Nothing therefore can more import the Prince, than that they who will aſſume ſuch a Province, ſhould be Men of Grave Diſcretion, and ſolid Judgment, Wiſe, and not Subtle, Cool, Temperate, Steady, Diſcerning, and Patient of Contradiction: and indeed they cannot be proper for that Poſt, unleſs they have in their Heads an Univerſal Scheme of their own and the Buſineſs of other Countreys.

When Giddy Young Men without Experience are rely'd upon and truſted in this Station, they embroyl the Princes Affairs; By their Ignorance they give his Enemies advantage, and by their Inſolence diſoblige his Friends.

A Man can be no more born a Statesman than a Phyſician, or a Lawyer; and let the Mind be never ſo happily diſpos'd, time muſt ripen what is begot by Nature.

Hobbs's Leviathan p. 30. Mr *Hobbes* ſays, *He that has moſt Experience in any kind of Buſineſs, has moſt ſigns to gueſs at the future time; and conſequently is the moſt Prudent: And ſo much more Prudent than he that is new in that kind of Buſineſs, as not to be equall'd by any*

any Advantage of Natural or Extemporary Wit.

The Sanguine Hopes conceiv'd by Young Men are by no means proper in Weighty and great Deliberations, and they ſeldom make good States-men: Elder Years, where they produce not Wiſdom, bring at leaſt Caution, which is ſomething like it.

They who have ſeen much are us'd to frequent Diſappointments, and therefore not inclin'd to venture; eſpecially they rarely hazzard the ſumm of affairs upon any ſingle Council.

Young Men are good to execute the Reſults of elder Wiſdom, but the ſame Fire which makes them beſt for Action, renders them unfit for Council: Yet there is now and then a fortunate Genius, in whom the Prudence of Age, and the Warmth of Youth meet together, but of ſuch the Examples are not common.

Pierce Gaveſton, *Hugh Spencer*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, are ſufficient Inſtances that the Conduct of Young Miniſters is ſeldom Succeſsful to themſelves, nor to their Maſters: They do the leſs Miſchief if they meddle only in the Pleaſures of their Prince; but when warm Heads, full of Conceit, with ſlight Wit, and no true Wiſdom, pretend to guide a whole

whole State, and to have Majority at their Beck and Rule, in a ſhort time they occaſion more Diſorders than can be remedy'd in many Years.

When Perſons ſo deſcrib'd come to have a Corrupt Majority of their ſide, They diminiſh the Nations Stock and its Coin, They loſe its Trade, They Anticipate all the Princes Revenues, They charge the Subject for many Years to come with a great Number of New Duties and Impoſitions, They bring the State into an Immenſe Debt, and plunge it into ſuch Difficulties, that hardly any new Revenues can be well erected: But 'tis hop'd *England* will never fall into ſuch deſtructive Hands.

Our Wealth and Greatneſs depend abſolutely upon keeping the Legiſlative Power to future Ages untainted, Vigilant for the Public Safety, Jealous of the Peoples Rights, Watchful over the Miniſters, and to have the Members not aw'd by Armies, nor to be ſeduc'd by Preferments, Bribes or Penſions; That we are ſafe at preſent is granted, and that we are not now under any Dangers of the like kind, and that this important Poſt is well ſecur'd, is allow'd: But writing for Poſterity, to which theſe Papers may peradventure be tranſmitted, we think it needful to give theſe Cautions. While

While we preſerve our Conſtitution as we receiv'd it from our Anceſtors, Bad Men may have a ſhort Power to do Miſchief; however their Rage and Folly will be at laſt corrected; but if we ſuffer our Civil Rights to be invaded, and if our ancient Form of Government ſhould be loſt, then ill Miniſters will proceed without Comptrol, they will in a ſhort time diſſipate the Nations Treaſure, the People will have no Stock for Trade, they will loſe their Induſtry, they will grow inclinable to change, Reſty and Indifferent in the cauſe of Liberty, and perhaps willing to ſubmit to any foreign Force, like *Spain* which has been both deſpotically and weakly govern'd.

Freedom and Wealth proceed hand in hand together, and if one is loſt the other will not long continue: but this Notion is not much regarded by thoſe who can only be great, and have no ways of making their own Fortunes, but by the deſtruction of their Country.

For ſuch as propoſe to thrive by Diſorder and Miſgovernment, have a ſtrong Intereſt to beggar the People, The Confuſion which Public wants and Private Neceſſities introduce, ſuits beſt with their Deſigns: A wealthy Nation may be jealous of its Rights, and watch any Invaſions

ſions upon its Freedome, and a Rich Gentry may be unmanageable; And ſuch bad Men may think, that the beſt Courſe to keep us humble is to make us poor.

If any ſhould be ſo wicked to have Thoughts of enſlaving *England*, they will endeavour to Mate and Quell the Stomachs of the Common People, by reducing them to the Miſery and want which decay of Trade, if it ever happens, muſt bring upon this Nation; And they will try to diſtreſs the Gentry in their Eſtates to that Degree, as to make 'em rely upon the Court for a Livelyhood and Subſiſtance: for which Reaſons they will wink at the loſs of our Foreign Traffick, and perhaps contrive its Deſtructon, knowing that upon the Proſperity of Trade, Rents and Land have for many years depended. Nor can ill Miniſters deſire a better Circumſtance, than to have Men of the beſt Fortunes reduc'd by their Neceſſities to come and Cringe and Sue to them for a ſmall Employment. Does not this bring all into their Power? Muſt not ſuch as ſhall have the Deſtribution of of theſe Favours be courted and follow'd by the major Part of the Gentry? Would not ſo great a Capacity of helping others add to their ſtrength, make 'em rich and

ſafe,

ſafe, and indeed ſet them in a manner above Impeachments?

If bad Men ſhould ever get into Power they will not only contribute to ruin our Foreign Trade, but they will try to impoveriſh the Kingdom by exorbitant Taxes, thereby to bring the Gentry and People yet more under their Subjection; They will likewiſe plunge their Maſter into Debts and Neceſſities, to render their Tricks and Arts of more uſe, and to put a higher value upon the Band they ſhall have in pay; for in former times we have ſeen that when a Court wanted, they who procur'd Money to be given, were thought to give it; by which means they obtain'd Favour cheaply at the Expence of Others: And this ſingle Merit atton'd for all their Faults, It excus'd falſe Steps and Negligence, It ſhelter'd their Bribery, and cover'd their Diſability for the Public Service.

Beſides, they will intangle their Maſters Affairs, becauſe a Prince that does not need Money, may come not to need them, whoſe Talents, in all likelihood, will conſiſt in procuring Taxes, not in well laying out the Summs granted; Therefore a wanting State, a troubled Government, and an indebted Exchequer will be their Region; Large Premiums,

Exorbitant Intereſt, Diverting Appropriated Fonds, Choice of Fonds on which to place their own Money, Preferring one Debt and Poſtponing another, will be always good Matter for ill Stateſmen to work upon, but afford much a better Harveſt when the Government ſtands in want of Money; Immenſe Summs given every Year will be a brave and ample Field for their Avarice to range in, which would be cramp'd and confin'd, if bound within the narrow Limits of what a Nation may be able to pay.

Of all things, they love a long and an expenſive War, and fear Peace; for Peace produces Order, and gives the Prince leiſure to enquire into the Abuſes of the State; It lets him into a right knowledge of Perſons in the Kingdom, and the Dregs which float upwards when the Liquor is ſtirr'd, muſt ſink to the bottom in quiet times; Peace reſtores Liberty of Speech, whereas in War all is ſilenc'd with the ſingle word *Neceſſity*; In Peace there is no need to court Factions, Turbulent Spirits are not ſo uſeful, Thrift may be introduc'd, and ſuch ſudden Fortunes cannot be rais'd out of the Publick. Grievances may be calmly debated, The Management of the Revenues inſpected, The Conduct of the Miniſters may be examin'd;

min'd; And good Laws may be propos'd without the Perpetual Objection of, *Are ye for bringing in the French and Popery?* But War will better anſwer their Deſigns, who mean to thrive by the looſe Adminiſtration with which War is generally accompany'd, and who propoſe to proſper by the Calamities and Miſery of their Country.

The Buſineſs of *Ireland* at the beginning of the Revolution, is a pregnant Inſtance how much deſigning Men love a long War. That Kingdom might have been preſently reduc'd, the Nation was diſpirited, He who held the Government was ready to give up the Marks and Enſigns of his Authority, with the Strengths depending on it; They were ſtruck with a Panic Fear, and had readily ſubmitted if in any reaſonable time a ſmall Force had been ſent thither; But one People does rarely yield ſo much to the Fame of another, as to ſurrender without being ask'd or ſummon'd. It was deſir'd that a few Tropps might be carry'd over to confirm and countenance our Friends, and to give our Enemies a fair Colour for purſuing that Courſe to which they were enough perſwaded by their true Intereſt, tho they could not modeſtly acquieſce, unleſs ſomething had been done that might ſave Appearances; for a great

Army could not with any Decency disband, without ſo much as hearing of an oppoſite Strength, to which (in the general Fright that poſſeſs'd their Party) they might have yielded with ſome Saving to their Honour. But *Ireland* was for a long time ſlighted, and the Natives were ſuffer'd to gather into a formidable Power. That Diverſion gave our Neighbour Kingdom opportunity to take Breath, and time to recover from the Fright and Amazement which ſo potent a League had brought upon them. The Troops who periſh'd ſo miſerably at *Dundalk* and elſewhere, would have been a great Addition to the Confederate Force. The Vigor that actuates the Minds of men in their firſt Proceedings ſhould have been carry'd againſt *France*, and not have been let to conſume itſelf, and ſlacken within our own Dominions. If by good Conduct the Affairs of *Ireland* had been betimes appeas'd, the Power of theſe three Nations had been united, and we might have enter'd the Liſts with our Strength intire, and a Treaſure unwaſted, which probably would have wrought ſuch Effects, and begot ſuch a Terror as might have produc'd long ago as ſound and honourable a Peace as we enjoy at preſent, after the Expence of ſo much Blood and Money.

This

This War ſtood *England* in 4,128,672*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*½, and both Nations in 4,515,693 *l.* 0*s.* 8 *d.* ½, but if we come to reckon the Burnings, Waſte and Depredation, and the irreparable Loſs of Men, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, by Sickneſs and in Battel, and the *Iriſh* damage redounding to us at laſt, it may be ſafely affirm'd that we are the worſe for that War by at leaſt 7 Millions.

However that fatal Neglect did divert from the War againſt *France* above four Millions, and did engage in Civil Broils thoſe Arms which were ſo needful in the beginning to make a ſtrong Impreſſion upon our Enemies abroad.

But a certain Party of Men were too buſy themſelves at home for to mind the Nations Foreign Concerns. They were dividing the ſpoil here, They were hunting after Places, and ſharing among one another the Dignities and Offices of the State, which took up all their time, and employ'd all their Care. Beſides, ſuch an early Coalition and Union of the whole ſtrength of the three Kingdoms, might have terrified *France* too ſoon, and taken away their Hopes of a ſucceeding War, which is the Crop and Harveſt of deſigning Miniſters, the Field in which they fatten, and a Spend-thrift, to whom they are Stewards without Accompt.

If not minding the Affairs of *Ireland* did hinder the Peace ſo long, then we owe to that fatal Council the Beginning of the Debt, which now preſſes ſo hard upon us; for without the Colour of ſuch a War, thoſe immenſe Summs could not have been conſum'd, which for theſe laſt five Years have been levy'd in this Kingdom.

When King *James* went away, we were reduc'd to what Mr *Hobbes* calls the State of Nature, the Original Contract being diſſolv'd, and the Ligaments broken, which held us before together: The Nation was then a Blank, apt to receive any Impreſſion; The old Building was pull'd down, and the Faults in it before might have been corrected, if the Architects had been skilful, and ſuch Lovers of their Country as they pretended to be. Never men had ſuch an Opportunity of doing Good, as they who had the chiefeſt hand in making the Revolution. They had a Prince willing to conſent to whatever might ſet us upon a right Foot, if they had met his deſign of Landing here with equal Virtues. The Gentry and People were at that time newly awaken'd from the Lethargy in which they had been for many Years; They ſaw how narrowly Religion and their Liberties had eſcap'd; Their Fears had made 'em Wiſe and Sober;

ber; Their Eyes were univerſally open'd; And they were wrought up to a Temper (which ſeldom happens in a whole Nation) of being capable to receive good and honeſt Councils. It was in their Power for ever to have baniſh'd Flattery and Corruption from the Court, and from another Place where thoſe Vices are yet more hurtful; and when they had chang'd Perſons, if they had taken Care at the ſame Inſtant to mend Things, they had wrought a general Reformation in our Manners. It was in their Hands to have given us a Sound Conſtitution, They had before 'em the Errors of preceeding Reigns, by which they might have corrected their Model, They ſhould have enter'd upon a ſtrict OEconomy, neither plundering for themſelves, nor ſuffering Others to grow Rich at the Public Coſt. They ſhould have been as careful in the State, as their Maſter was active in the Field, they ſhould have begg'd leſs, and done more. They ſhould have avoided Bribery, than which nothing could be more unſeemly in Reformers of a State, and which was certain to keep out the beſt, and let the worſt Men into all their Buſineſs. They ought to have known that a new Settlement was to be maintain'd by ſeverer Rules and Methods than perhaps are neceſſary

ceſſary in a Court where the Prince is born in Purple. And laſtly, They ſhould have made this Reflection, That more than ordinary Virtue of all kinds was needful to anſwer the Peoples Expectations, and that more than common Wiſdom was requiſite to maintain and juſtifie ſo great a Change.

The worſt and moſt unhappy Kings that ever were would have rul'd better, had it not been for the wrong Suggeſtion and wicked Incitements of the Flatterers about 'em; But thoſe Peſts and Poiſons of a Court are yet more to blame, when things ſucceed not well with Wiſe and Virtuous Princes.

That Declaration which the King ſent to *England* before he came over, was the Pole Star by which our State Pilots were to ſteer their Courſe. 'Twas well known that to keep the ſame Parliament ſitting ſo many Years was what had chiefly debauch'd the Gentry of this Kingdom, it was therefore expected that in the Act for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, ſome Proviſion ſhould have been made againſt thtaEvil for the future. Several Miniſters, who betray'd their King and Country, have gone on to the laſt with Impunity, by keeping Parliaments quite off; but more have found a Shelter for

for their Crimes in Houſes, which they have long held together, and of which they have had the handling for many a Seſſions; Could Men pretend to be Patriots, and not take Care of ſecuring that Poſt? Could our Freedoms be any way certainly loſt, but by laying aſide the uſe of Parliaments, as was deſign'd in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, or by keeping them ſo long ſitting, till a Majority of Members ſhould be under Engagements with the Court, as had almoſt happen'd in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second? Were we not both times upon the very brink of ruin, and in hazard of being no more a free People? Did it not therefore import that Party which had heretofore made ſuch high Profeſſions for Liberty, to provide that *England* might be no more threatned with the ſame danger? Should not this have been a main Article in our Contract with their Majeſties upon their Acceſſion to the Throne, who readily conſented to all things that might make us ſafe and happy, The King having promis'd in his Declaration, *To do all things which the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould find neceſſary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, ſo that there may be no more danger of the Nations falling at any time*

'Twas certainly a great Omiſſion not to bring on in the very beginning of the Revolution, the Act for Triennial Parliaments, which our own Corruptions produc'd at laſt; If the State had enter'd early into that wholeſom Council, it had made the Kings entire Reign more eaſy to himſelf, and leſs coſtly to his People. It had given a Riſe to that Virtue and Publick Honeſty he came over to plant, and had anſwer'd all the ends of his Declaration. They who were not well principled, muſt have pretended ſo to be, for the Paths and Road to Preferment had been thereby quite alter'd: The Ingredients which before compos'd a Stateſman, were Skill to govern the Houſe, Ability now and then to make an Important Turn, knowledge of the Members, that is, who were to be taken off, and what was their Price, Diligence in keeping that Band together who were right or wrong to be unanimous. They who were thus qualify'd themſelves, or who would blindly follow the Profeſſors of theſe pernicious Arts, engroſs'd the whole Buſineſs and Employments of the Nation; But by neglecting to put Matters under a good Settlement in the beginning, one

and

and the ſame Houſe of Commons came to continue ſitting with ſhort Intervals for Six Years, and this wrong meaſure being taken, renew'd all the former Errors of our Conſtitution, and for a time reſtor'd to Men the ſame diſhoneſt Intereſt they had before, and, if any were ſo wicked, gave them freſh opportunity and room to endeavour once more the Subverſion and Ruin of this Kingdom, not by the very ways practis'd in former times, but by the ſame corrupt Inclinations and Councils dreſs'd in other Shapes; And tho, without doubt, none of 'em are choſen into this Parliament, yet 'tis to be fear'd, that in thoſe Seſſions of Six Years continuance, there was rear'd up a new brood of Men of Buſineſs, as high Flatterers, more falſe, deſigning, and rapacious than their Predeceſſors, but without the ſame Skill and Dexterity to ſupport their Malice.

However, 'tis hop'd the Act for Triennial Parliaments may have given a Check to this Ulcer, which was growing in the Body Politick, and that it may hinder the Gangreen from proceeding further; yet tho the old Venome may be reſtrain'd a while by Remedies, 'tis to be fear'd it lurks ſtill within us, ready to break out upon the firſt Occaſion.

If

If that Party which once ſeem'd ſo Jealous of our Rights had not abandoned all their old Principles, they might have form'd us a laſting Eſtabliſhment, ſuch as could not have been ſhaken by Domeſtick Rage or Foreign Power: whereas now we depend alone upon the Reputation, Merit and Virtues of the King, that bind and hold us together; But when he muſt yield to Nature (which Misfortune we hope is very diſtant from us) in all Humane Probability, nothing can be expected but Confuſion and Civil War.

When the Breaches made upon our Conſtitution in the late Reigns, had induc'd many of the beſt Sort to judge a Revolution needful, the People had reaſon to expect that in a new Modell'd Government, all things ſhould have been ſet upon the Foot of Honeſty and Virtue, and to ſee all that Male-Adminiſtration reform'd, which ſome perſons had been reaſonably complaining of for 30 Years. We thought to ſee a virtuous Court, a watchful State, an Induſtrious and frugal Miniſtry. If all theſe our Expectations had been anſwer'd, what Diſaſters from without or within could have hurt *England*? Muſt not the Change have been tacitly conſented to, (if not applauded) even

even by thoſe that ſuffer'd in it? Had we not at home a diſcontented Party, which was to be ſilenc'd by ſhowing 'em an honeſter, more ſteady, more diſintereſted, and a wiſer Conduct than what they had known before, and ſtill linger'd after? Had we not abroad a Potent Enemy againſt whom our Strength was to be husbanded diſcreetly, that it might laſt the longer? And laſtly, was not the beſt and moſt irreproachable Management in the world neceſſary and hardly ſufficient, to enable us to carry on that War, with which ſo great an Alteration was certain to be follow'd?

But inſtead of building upon theſe Foundations, and taking ſuch meaſures as had render'd our Proceedings ſafe in their Conſequences, and not obnoxious to any Cenſure, ſome Perſons have given manifeſt Proof that they were acted by no ſort of Principle, and that in their Doings they were rather ſway'd by Private Intereſt, Revenge, Ambition, and their other Appetites; than guided by any ſence of the Publick Good; for we no ſooner had upon the Throne a Prince fear'd and reverenc'd broad, and Idoliz'd here, but ſome perſons immediately forgot the Cauſe for which they call'd him over.

If we had ſhown any Deſire to aſſiſt and imitate his Perfections, what a fair Fame of our ſelves had we tranſmitted to After Ages.

If ſome Men had conſider'd wiſely they would have found, that all things were not ſecure, becauſe Religion was out of danger, whoſe Concerns are ſoon forgotten when we begin to be preſs'd with other Fears; Beſides, if Matters are not ſo order'd, that *Spain* may not fall under the Power of *France*, Popery, and univerſal Monarchy are ſtill to be apprehended.

Proſperity, a flowing Trade, and great Riches, may admit of Prodigality, Negligence in the State, and falſe ſteps in the Miniſtry, but a People exhauſted by long Taxes deſire to ſee in thoſe above 'em Thrift for the Public, Vigilance, and as much good Conduct as can be expected in humane Buſineſs. Power is ſeldom Invidious to the Common People when plac'd in virtuous Hands, nor are Calamities intolerable, which could not have been avoided by any Care or Caution. When the Miniſters do well, thoſe under 'em ſuffer quietly; but on the Contrary, If they obſerve themſelves rul'd in the Subordinate parts of Government, by ſuch as make a prey of the Common-

wealth

wealth, and to that end only take upon 'em its Adminiſtration, if they plainly perceive their miſeries and Misfortunes to proceed chiefly from the Corrupt or weak Councils of ſuch Stateſmen, they become diſhearten'd and loſe that Mettle and Spirit, without which the high deſigns of their powerful Neighbours are not to be reſiſted.

But tho ſome Errors might be committed in the beginning of the Revolution, 'tis hoped all things are now well, that Peace has put an End to thoſe Diſorders in Government which War does commonly beget, and that our preſent Management is not lyable to any Cenſure. And what is ſaid here, and what may be obſerv'd hereafter of the like kind in the Series of this Diſcourſe, is not at all the preſent caſe of *England*; 'tis hoped we are not a Corrupt People, but in Proceſs of time we may grow ſo, and loſe that Virtue which is preſumed to ſhine in this Age. This Section is therefore directed to Poſterity, which alone is concern'd in the Ethicks here advanced.

In future Ages perhaps Ambitious and Deſigning Men may deſire to embroyl their Maſters affairs only, to make him more Dependant upon their Arts; hereafter Men of Arbitrary Principles may de-

ſignedly neglect the Concerns and Care of Foreign Traffick, with a Purpoſe to Impoveriſh, and ſo to enſlave the People; In the next Age likewiſe deſigning Miniſters may take Advantage of the Martial Temper of a Prince, and inſtead of reigning in his High Courage with grave Councils, they may diſguiſe from him the true State of his Affairs, and puſh him on to a new War, without making right Proviſions, or without ſuch previous Leagues as may make it tollerable in the Progreſs, or happy in the Concluſion; and perhaps they may deſire the Semblance of a War, only to have a Pretence for a Standing Army.

For the Benefit therefore of future times, it may be proper to ſhow by what ſteps thoſe Vices and Immoralities that affect the Public firſt creep into a Country, and what Progreſs they come afterwards to make, and to ſhow what ſort of Men and what kind of Councils intangle a Princes Affairs.

But tho this Paper be directed to Poſterity, and tho 'tis nothing but a Caution to future times, yet probably it may offend ſome Perſons who are tender in theſe Matters.

However we ſhall venture to affirm that if this Nation ſhould ever be under any great

great Diſorder, the trueſt Courſe to mend it, will be; to plant in the Minds of the better ſort Morality, and the Shame of doing ill to their Country, And we ſhall preſume to aſſert that obſerving the Rules and Dictates of Virtue, does not only lead to Heaven and a bleſſed State hereafter, but is the beſt way of ſecuring to a People in general, Proſperity, Peace, Safety, Power, and Happineſs in this preſent World.

To trace thoſe Men who may deſign to change this Conſtitution in all their dark and crooked Ways, and to follow 'em in all their Mazes will be difficult; however we ſhall do our beſt to deſcribe the Perſons, and to ſhow their Councils, that they may be narrowly watch'd by all ſuch as love their Country.

But to do this we muſt take a ſhort view of things paſt, and a little conſider the Poſture of Affairs at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the 2d, and how they ſtood during his Reign and the Reign of his Succeſſor.

When that Prince was recall'd from Exile, by the Voice of the whole People (who had been tired with the many Changes in Government, that happened from *Cromwell*'s Death to the year 1660) 'twas almoſt impoſſible, but that we

ſhould run from one to the other Extream; And 'twas reaſonable to fear that Men ſhould readily embrace Servitude, who knew not how to make a right uſe of Liberty. Upon which Accompt many have wonder'd why our Antient Form of Government was not at that time alter'd, and how it came to paſs we did not then embrace Abſolute Monarchy.

But we are to conſider that King *Charles* was a young Prince, more inclined to taſte the Pleaſures of Power, than willing to feel its Weight; He had undergone many Troubles, which he intended to recompence with great Eaſe and Luxury; ſo that the rugged work of Subverting the Laws ſuited neither with his Age nor Temper. Had he lived longer, as Time and Oppoſition began to ſowr his Blood, what he might have attempted is very doubtful.

Beſides the unactive Genius of the King, there happen'd then another Circumſtance very fortunate for *England*, which was, that the Services and Merit of the Chancellor *Clarendon*, and the Treaſurer *Southampton*, did ſtrongly induce him to put the Adminiſtration of his Affairs into their Hands. They were both Perſons of Age and Experience, They had known the former Reign, They had ſeen the Grounds

Grounds and Riſe of the Civil War, They underſtood the Nature of our Conſtitution, They ſaw what had depos'd one King, and found that unlimited Power was hard to compaſs, and difficult to keep; And having their Maſters Ear, and at firſt a large ſhare in his Affection, They kept Him within Bounds. The Skill in the Laws of One, the Eloquence of the Other, the General Abilities of both, made 'em eſteem'd by the People, and awful to their very Prince, and this gave a weight to all their Councils. They had Authority enough in their Perſons to be liſten'd to, when they ſpoke bold and neceſſary Truths: having Superiour Knowledge and Deſert too, to be heard, they did not ſtand in need of ſaying always what was pleaſing, which is the miſerable and ſervile Condition of Upſtart, Weak and Obſcure Stateſmen; But leſs were they oblig'd to Flatter every Flatterer. Having a Foundation of Merit, they ſcorn'd the mean Aid of Parties, or to be the wretched Journeymen of any dark Cabal: Knowing what was their Maſters and the Nations Intereſt, and intending to promote both; They gave wholſome Advice, without Fear of offending either Prince or People. That Kingly Government was then kept

within the Limits of the Law, That our Conſtitution was not given up between the Fears of One, and the Hopes of the Other Party, and that our Civil Rights were ſtill preſerv'd, was chiefly owing to the Wiſdom, Courage, and Integrity of thoſe two able Stateſmen.

But even then, and all along afterwards, there were ſtill ſome among us impatient to make their Maſter Abſolute; They conſiſted principally of ſuch as had large Ambition, and Slender Merit, who are the beſt Inſtruments for any Tyranny. Theſe were ever embroiling the King with his Parliament, either to protect them, or to juſtifie ſome of their illegal Actions. Sometimes they got him to appear a violent Church-man, and at other ſeaſons to favour the Diſſenters, but at no time to take Care of Religion itſelf. They perſwaded Him to extend the Regal Power in every thing; They got him to ſeize all the Charters, in order to influence Elections. By their Councils He rais'd an Army, under Colour of declaring War with *France*; By their Inſtruments They made him abſolute in *Scotland*, at the ſame time doing what they could to weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*.

But

But their chief Aim was to procure Him ſo large a ſtanding Revenue, as might make Parliaments uſeleſs for the future. 'Tis true, they propos'd this Revenue for his Life only; but if that firſt ſtep had been made, it had not been difficult afterwards to entail it on the Crown: Beſides, what has been granted to one Prince, has been always continu'd to his Succeſſor without any Struggle.

That theſe Things were done with a Deſign to change the Conſtitution, is viſible enough: And 'tis as evident that theſe Councils were either promoted by Perſons, who wanted the Sublime Part of Wiſdome, neceſſary for the Conduct of Great Affairs, and therefore were to form a Government that might ſubſiſt by Tricks and Arts, or they were forg'd by a ſet of Men, whoſe Avarice and Ambition no Regular Eſtabliſhment could ſatisfie, whoſe Crimes a Free State would look into, and whoſe Arbitrary Proceedings a Parliament would not ſuffer: They were therefore to build their Fortunes, Gratifie their High Deſires, and find Impunity, by ſetting up the Regal Power above the Laws.

In the next Reign, yet more open Invaſions were made upon our Liberties,

not by the ſame Men, but by Men acting upon the ſame Principles; But they proceeded more cunningly before than afterwards: For in the former Reign 'twas thought beſt to begin with altering the Conſtitution, and that when this was done, Religion might be chang'd of courſe: But the hot Zeal of the Catholicks would not permit 'em to go by Slow and Regular Meaſures; They therefore made a ſtrange and unpolitick Attempt, never like to ſucceed, which was firſt to Convert, and then to Inſlave the Nation.

While theſe Matters were tranſacting, there appeared all along Perſons, both in and out of the Court, who did moſt Virtuouſly oppoſe thoſe Deſigns, that, firſt ſecretly, and then openly, were forming againſt their Country.

As ſome were contriving to Subvert our Civil Rights, others did as carefully watch their Preſervation, which Invading and Defending, divided *England* into what was then call'd the Court and Country Party.

Never was Liberty more cunningly attacked, nor more Nobly Protected, than in that Houſe of Commons which ſat Eighteen Years. It contained bold bad Men,

Men, with Hearts and Heads fit to contrive the Subverſion of a State. But there were in it alſo Perſons of another Character, very Great indeed, with quite Superior Judgments, and with Minds ſo rightly adapted for Government, that the Weight of a whole Empire might be ſafely repos'd upon their Shoulders, in whom Converſation with the dead Wiſdom of paſt Ages, was join'd with Experience, and a perfect Knowledge of this preſent World. Theſe brave Spirits from the Beginning reſiſted that Inundation of Flattery and ſervile Complyance, with which great Revolutions in Corrupt times are certain to be attended. They Vigorouſly oppoſed that Unanimous Band, which diligently promoted Arbitrary Power. Sometimes they ſav'd us when we were within three or four Votes of utter Ruin; They hindered that Increaſe of the Kings Revenue, which alone would have put an end to Parliaments. Theſe were the Prime Leaders of ſuch whom the People for ſome Years were pleas'd to Term the Country Party, and by Good Patriots, ſo call'd, our Conſtitution was for a while preſerv'd.

But after the Year 1679. on both ſides the Minds of Men grew ſo inflam'd, and ſuch Animoſities did ariſe between 'em, that they

they could no longer call one another by the Civil Appellation of Court and Country Party, ſo that the different ſides began to be diſtinguiſh'd by other ſort of Names.

Tis indeed below the Gravity of a Sober Writer to uſe the Common Cant words of the Town, but 'tis ſometimes unavoidable, eſpecially when that which was only Mirth and Cant at firſt, became at laſt a ſerious Matter.

The Accidental words of *Guelf* and *Ghibelin*, in Proceſs of time grew to be the Names of Powerful Parties, into which ſeveral Countreys were divided, and in which Emperors, Kings, Popes and Princes engag'd, and theſe Names of diſtinction continued for ſome Ages, producing Wars and Actions of great Importance.

In the ſame manner the Words of *Whig* and *Tory*, intended at firſt as reciprocal Reproaches, in a ſhort time grew to be the Names by which two great Parties were contented to be call'd, and into which in a manner the whole Nation was divided.

They were termed Whigs, and indeed they called themſelves ſo, who under another Name, had heretofore oppoſed the Corrupt and illegal Proceedings of the Court, who foreſaw the Dangers that

that would ariſe from a Catholick King, who were for correcting the Exorbitances of *Weſtminſter Hall*, and for putting a ſtop to extravagant Fines, and who made a reſolute ſtand, and would give no more Money, till the *Habeas Corpus* Act was paſſed, and till the new rais'd Army was disbanded; and who did their utmoſt againſt the Surrender and Regulating of Charters.

In the next Reign the ſame Men, or Men acting upon the ſame Principle, declar'd themſelves againſt taking off the Teſt and Penal Laws. They ſhow'd an open Diſlike in Parliament of Catholicks being put into Offices of Truſt. They abhorr'd the Cruel Executions in the Weſt. They oppos'd the Violent Proſecution of the Seven Biſhops. And laſtly, They were ready and active with their Councils and Aſſiſtance to bring over the Redeemer of *England*.

A Man is but young at Nineteen, but a Party may be thought old that is of ſo long a ſtanding. The Perſons juſt now deſcrib'd were the *Old Whigs*, whoſe Principles will be reverenc'd in future Ages by all ſuch as love their Country. 'Tis true, ſome Perſons did join with theſe, and call themſelves *Whigs*, who had all along other Views than the Nations Ser-

vice,

vice, whom Diſappointments had ſowr'd, who oppos'd to be taken off, and who did not like a Court, becauſe a Court did not like them. But they who ſwim againſt the Tide, muſt make uſe of all Helps, and in Corrupt Times, even the beſt Patriots have refus'd no ſort of Men that could any ways aſſiſt the Public: the Good and Bad of theſe altogether were call'd the *Whig Party.*

To what had been formerly ſtil'd, the Court Side, the People afterwards gave the Name of *Tories.* And we ſhall give an Account of what ſort of Perſons this Party was compos'd. The Bulk of 'em conſiſted of ſuch as were deſcended from the Cavaliers, whoſe Families had ſuffer'd very much by the Civil War, and who by Education were ſeaſon'd with an early Love to Kingly Government. They were Jealous that all Motions tending to preſerve Liberty, ſavour'd of the Commonwealth, with whoſe Weight their Fathers had been ſo lately Cruſh'd. A moſt unwiſe Generation of Men, to have any Fears that a Commonwealth could be reſtor'd in a Country ſo corrupted! Many of them were much of that Principle of which *Tacitus* deſcribes *Marcellus Eprius* to have been, who ſaid in the Senate, *Se meminiſſe Temporum quibus natus ſit, quam Civitatis*

Civitatis formam Patres Aviq; inſtituerint: ulteriora mirari, preſentia ſequi, bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualeſcunq; tolerare. Many of 'em were debauch'd by Pomp and Splendour, and in the Heat of their Youth, they lik'd the Pleaſures of a Court, but the Riots of it compell'd many of 'em, at laſt, to depend upon its Favours. Others embrac'd the Regal Power more warmly, becauſe they ſaw many of the Oppoſite Side bitter againſt the Church, not ſo deſirous to Correct any of its Errors, as willing to lay the Ax to its very Root. Others link'd themſelves with this Band out of a Cautious Temper, and through a Fear that contending with the Court might produce another War. Some gave into this ſide out of Gratitude to King *Charles*, and Many through meer Affection to his Perſon; for without doubt He was a moſt engaging Prince. Others went into it from a real Conviction of their Minds that the King was not ſafe without more Power, to which Opinion they were chiefly led, by obſerving the Raſh Councils, unquiet Spirits, and inſolent Behaviour of ſome of their Opponents. But with thoſe who might Act of this Side upon a Principle, there joyn'd a great many who had no good Intentions to the Publick, who were for enlarging

ing the Prince's Power, in order to augment their own, who were for Robbing the People, that they might ſhare in the Plunder, who would have ſet the King above all the Laws, that they might be never accountable to a Parliament for their Proceedings; and, who pretending a great Zeal for the Church, were all the while making way for Popery; thus upon Different Motives, conſiderable Numbers were liſted of this Side, and the Good and the Bad mingled together, compos'd what was call'd the *Tory Party*.

But Humane Affairs are ſubject to ſuch odd Turns, that in the next Reign many of both theſe Parties travers'd their Ground, and mutually paſs'd into that Camp which ſome of their Enemies had deſerted. Not a few of the Whigs enter'd into the worſt of King *James*'s Meaſures and Councils; And the Eyes of thoſe who had been reckon'd Tories, were in a manner univerſally open'd, and they began to ſee the Errors they had been committing ſo many Years, inſomuch that they were as eager as any Others to promote the Revolution: So that the Soundeſt Part of theſe Claſhing Factions ſhook Hands together, and join'd in that Reſcue of our Liberties which could never have been brought about,

about, but by the Concurrent Endeavour of both Parties.

Both ſides had their Faults, and of both ſides bad Men were liſted, and of each ſide there were many who all along acted upon the Principles of Honeſty and Virtue, and who aim'd at the Common Good, tho as to the Way to it, in their turns, each ſide might be now and then miſtaken; It muſt indeed be granted, that the Whigs ſaw the Diſeaſes that were growing upon the Body Politick, before the Tories, But when the Diſtemper began to rage, the Tories were not behind hand in ſeeking out the Proper Remedy.

But tho ſuch as the Common People then call'd Tories, joyn'd in the Revolution, and had without doubt the greateſt Hand in it, having on their Side Men of Fortunes, Power, and Figure, and the main Body of the Church, which will always be found the ſtrongeſt Intereſt in *England*, yet it muſt be confeſs'd that the Change was made upon the old Whig Principles, of making Parliaments awful to the Miniſters, and of keeping the Regal Authority within the Limits of the Law; for what this Nation then did, was directly Oppoſite to the Church or Tory Maxims; but when Princes quit the old Rules of right Government, their Sub-

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jects will be apt to forget the old Rules preſcrib'd for their Obedience,

Tis hop'd theſe Names of Diſtinction are now quite aboliſh'd and forgotten; But the Faction of *Guelfs* and *Ghibelins*, after having ſlept for ſome time, reviv'd again, and continu'd upwards of two hundred years, even when the Derivation of the Words was no more remember'd; And the Parties laſted ſo long, becauſe the ſame Principles upon which they had firſt differ'd, remain'd ſtill deeply imprinted in their Minds, and afforded continual Matter for new Diſſention.

In the ſame Manner perhaps ſome time hence the Names of Whig and Tory may be again renew'd here, to diſturb this Nations Peace; And if this ſhould happen, we muſt implore the Whigs not to forget their old Principles and antient Maxims.

The Tories, by taking Arms to defend their Civil Rights, and by joining to Depoſe that Prince by whom thoſe Rights were violated, have in the moſt Public Manner in the World renounced their Doctrine of *Jus Divinum*, Paſſive Obedience, and Non-Reſiſtance.

But if the Whigs ſhould hereafter take their Stations, if they ſhould go upon that Ground which the Tories have quitted, if they

they ſhould enter upon juſt ſuch Meaſures, if they ſhould purſue the ſame Councils, if they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be imbib'd with Tory Notions, our Conſtitution muſt be intirely loſt.

For they may undermine it without Suſpition: who will be Jealous of thoſe who have been Preaching up Liberty and accuſing Arbitrary Miniſters for thirty Years? who will ſuſpect ſuch profeſt Patriots? They may change the Form of our Government, and have the People of their ſide, who can have no Jealouſy of them, for the Whigs are the Favourites of the People, as having ſo often preſerv'd *England*. No Perſon could be Popular enough in *Rome* to think of Subverting its Conſtitution, in the Purity of the Commonwealth, but *Manlius* who had ſav'd the Capitol.

It will hardly be ſurmis'd, that they can mean to inſlave us, who (by their Speeches, Actions and Writings) for many Years ſeemed rather inclin'd to a Republic, than to Deſpotick Government. But if they ſhould come to change their Minds, if They ſhould throw off their former Principles, we ſhall be undone by the very Men whom we thought our ſureſt Friends.

If old Whigs ſhould hunt after Places as much as ever the Tories did, and if like them, upon Preferment, they ſhould become quite new Men, in Voting, Thinking, and Speaking, in a Moment making a ſudden Turn from the whole Courſe of their former Lives; If old Whigs, as the Tories did, ſhould ever take Bribes and Penſions to betray their Truſt; If they ſhould do any thing to break into the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which is the Chief Guardian of our Liberberties; If they ſhould oppoſe any good Act for the frequent ſitting of Parliaments, which want in the Conſtitution produc'd all our former Miſeries, If they ſhould openly oppoſe any reaſonable Proviſion for Tryals in Treaſon, the want of which has loſt many a Noble Life, and for which heretofore they had ſo loudly called; If, as the Tories did, they ſhould ſend their Emiſſaries about to influence or corrupt Elections; If old Whigs to whom *Meum* and *Tuum* was once ſo ſacred, ſhould come to ruin a Society of Trading Men, and at one blow deſtroy many hundred Families, but God forbid *Engliſh*men ſhould ever have ſuch a Thought; If old Whigs ſhall perſwade any Future Prince to Cloſet Members, as was done in the preceeding Reigns; If by their Power

Power they ſhould get Men turn'd out of Employment, for purſuing the Dictates of their Conſcience, and Underſtanding; If like the Miniſters heretofore complain'd of, They ſhould have a Band of Penſioners ready to give up any Right, to grant any Summ, and to excuſe, nay, even to vote thair Pay-maſter Thanks for any Male Adminiſtration.

If the Old Whigs ſhould reſtore to Men the ſame diſhoneſt Intereſt they had heretofore, If they ſhould conſume us in their Miniſterial, and ſell us in their Legiſlative Capacity; If they ſhould deſire to have things governed rather by Tricks and little Arts, than according to the Direction of the Laws, or the Bent of the People; If they, who upon the Virtuous Principle of keeping *England* a free Country, in former times, oppos'd all Exciſes, ſhould be brought to create ſo many new Offices and Officers, as may influence Elections round the Kingdom; If they, who heretofore thought the beſt way to preſerve their Civil Rights, was to keep the Purſe, and to have always ſomething to give, ſhould be for ſettling ſuch an immenſe Revenue on the Crown, as may make Parliaments unneceſſary; If they who were ſo careful in King *Charles*'s Reign, not to burthen the Nation with Taxes,

ſhould give away the Peoples Wealth, as if *England* were a Mine of Treaſure never to be exhauſted; If they who have ever aſſerted, that all Rents and Payments to the Crown were the Kingdoms Revenues, and not Alienable, but by Authority of Parliament, ſhould in a ſhort ſpace of Time come to Alienate all the Crown Land, and to leave the King hardly a Turf of Ground either in *England* or *Ireland*; If they who formerly thought it ſufficient Matter of Impeachment for a Lord Treaſurer, or any Other intruſted by the King, to paſs large Grants from the Crown to Themſelves, ſhould give to their Creatures, and ſhare among one another, in a few years, of Crown Lands, near to the Value of two Millions.

If the very Men who have * *Aſſerted and Claim'd it to be their true, antient and indubitable Right, and that it ought to be eſteem'd, allow'd, adjudg'd and deemed That the Raiſing or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unleſs it be with the Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law*; If they who once believ'd this Eagle in the Air frighted all Motions towards Liberty; If they who heretofore thought Armies in time of Peace, and our Freedoms inconſiſtent; If the ſame Men ſhould throw off a Whig Principle ſo fundamen-

* Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, *pa.* 197. *p.* 192.

damental; If they ſhould become the open Advocates for ſtanding Forces, and even ſubmit to Troops compos'd of Foreigners.

If in this manner the Old Whigs, whoſe Foreſight and Courage has hitherto preſerv'd *England*, ſhould quite change their Minds, and go thus retrograde from all their former Speeches, Actions, and Councils; If they ſhould thus come to cloath themſelves with the Foul, Ridiculous and Deteſted Garments of the Tories, and give into the worſt of their Meaſures; And if all that has been here diſcours'd ſhould happen, then would the Conſtitution of this Country be utterly ſubverted.

For Men finding themſelves thus forſaken by the Antient Friends to Liberty, would believe they were bought and ſold; They would imagine that there was no ſuch thing as Virtue and Honeſty remaining in the Kingdom; They would think all Pretenſions to the Public Good, to be nothing but Deſigns of Ambitious Perſons, to lift themſelves up to high Honours, upon the Shoulders of the People; And when Nations have before their Eyes an Arm'd Power to Fear, and none in whom they can put any Truſt, they ſeldom fail of ſubmitting to the Yoak.

Free States yield to Slavery when the Men beſt eſteem'd, and moſt in Vogue, are generally thought to be corrupted. This was the Condition of *Rome* under *Auguſtus*, as *Tacitus* finely deſcribes it, *Ubi Militem donis, Populum Annona, Cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit; inſurgere paullatim, Munia Senatus Magiſtratuum, legum in ſe trahere, nullo adverſante: cum ferociſſimi per acies aut proſcriptione cecidiſſent. Ceteri Nobilium, quanto quis ſervitio promptior; opibus ac Honoribus extollerentur: ac novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & præſentia, quam vetera ac periculoſa mallent, neque Provinciæ illum Statum rerum abnuebant, ſuſpecto Senatus populique imperio, ob certamina potentium, & avaritiam magiſtratuum: invalido legum auxilio quæ vi, ambitu, poſtremo pecunia turbabantur.* When the beſt and nobleſt Spirits were all extinct, and when 'twas ſeen that the Remainder were contented with Wealth, Titles and Preferments, the Price of their Submiſſion, the *Romans* thought it their ſafeſt Courſe to commit all to the Care and Wiſdom of a Single Perſon.

Lib. 1. Ann.

In the ſame manner, If in times to come it ſhould happen that our Nobility and Gentry ſhould be more ſollicitous to get a ſmall Employment, than to keep a great Eſtate; If the Perſons of Note and Figure

Figure ſhou'd be ſway'd by their private Intereſt, without any Regard to the Public Good; If it ſhould be viſible to the Counties and Burroughs, that Men covet to be choſen, not for their Country's Service, but in order to ſerve themſelves; If it ſhould grow apparent, that neither Side is at bottom better principled than the Other, that Court and Country Party, Whigs and Church-men, are nothing but the Factions of Thoſe who Have, and Thoſe who deſire Preferment; If in this manner the whole Maſs of Blood in the Body Politick ſhould be corrupted, the Nation will throw off that Reverence to Parliaments, which has hitherto preſerv'd our Liberties, and like the Neighbouring Countries either terrify'd or allur'd, they will by degrees ſubmit to unlimited Monarchy; And ſo we ſhall loſe one of the beſt Conſtitutions that was ever ſet afoot for the well Governing a People.

Handling as we do the Methods whereby a Nation may Increaſe in Wealth and Power, we thought it neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe Parties and Factions which probably hereafter may come to influence in its Councils; And this has been done in order to incite Good Men to watch over their Growth and Progreſs, and ſuch Good Men chiefly as deſign to engage on

neither Side, but to bend all their Care that no Side may be able to hurt the Commonwealth.

* *Machiavel's* Diſcourſes on *Livy, lib.* 2. *c.* 2.

And if it ſhould be ask'd, Why the Care of Liberty and preſerving our Civil Rights ſhould be ſo much recommended in a Paper relating to Trade? We anſwer, that herein we follow *Machiavel*, who ſays, *That when a Free State degenerates into a Tyranny, the leaſt Miſchief that it can expect, is to make no farther Advancement in its Empire; and no farther Increaſe either in Riches or Power, but for the moſt part it goes backward and declines.*

Lib. 1. *c.* 10.

This deep Stateſman has a ſaying in another Place well worthy of eternal Remembrance, *That the Prince who aims at Glory and Reputation in the World, ſhould deſire a Government, where the Manners of his Subjects are corrupted and depraved, not to Subvert and deſtroy it like* Cæſar, *but to rectifie and reſtore it like* Romulus, *than which the Heavens cannot confer, nor Man propoſe to himſelf greater Honor.*

It may be objected, that in *France*, where all Thoughts of Liberty are extinguiſh'd, Trade and Riches have of late Years very much increas'd. But this admits of an eaſy Anſwer. An abſolute Prince, with great Abilities and Virtues, by Care and Wiſdom may make his Country flouriſh

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for a time. However, if his Succeſſors are weak or wicked, all ſhall be ſoon unravell'd and go backward, and Poverty ſhall ſoon invade the ſame People which before began to thrive; for to make a Nation very Rich and Powerful, there muſt be a long Succeſſion of good Princes (which ſeldom happens) or a long Succeſſion of good Laws and good Government, which may be always had in Countreys that preſerve their Freedom: And without doubt 'tis on this Accompt that *Machiavel* has aſſerted, *That no Cities have augmented their Revenues or enlarged their Territories, but whilſt they were free and at Liberty.* Lib. 2. c. 2.

And if in future times the Nobility and Gentry of *England* (which God forbid) ſhould traffick the Peoples Rights for Titles, Bribes or Places, *vilia Servitii pretia*, and if they ſhould be induc'd fearfully, or which is worſe, corruptly to give up this Conſtitution, Poverty will creep inſenſibly upon us. We ſhall, as *Machiavel* ſays, *go backwards and decline*, Land will yield a great deal leſs than now, Rents will be ill paid, And we ſhall not have a Foreign Traffick, large and extended enough to produce ſuch a Naval ſtrength as may make us Safe at home and Terrible abroad. Tacit. lib. 2. Ann.

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'Tis therefore upon the Authority of this great Man that we have laid down, *That a Country cannot Increaſe in Wealth and Power but by Private Men doing their Duty to the Public, and but by a Steady Courſe of Honeſty and Wiſdom, in ſuch as are truſted with the Adminiſtration.*

However, if Things ſhould hereafter proceed amiſs, 'Tis hop'd the ſtrong Conſtitution of this Government will in time throw off thoſe Diſeaſes which may affect it for a Seaſon, and that the united Wiſdom of the Nation can recover us from that Decay of Health to which we may be reduc'd by a few Empiricks of State; Their Giddy Management for a while may be ſupported, and born out, by the great Riches which peradventure may have been collected here by the Induſtry and Prudence of former Ages; but if what has been gathering ſeven Centuries, they ſhould ſquander away in a few Years, the Cries of that People whom they ſo impoveriſh, will at laſt awaken the Parliament to enquire into, and animadvert upon their Wild Proceedings.

If the Wealth and Power of a Country depend upon the Good Government and Stability of its Affairs, it muſt certainly import all the different Ranks of Men to contribute their utmoſt that Things may be

be well adminiſter'd : And in mix'd Conſtitutions almoſt every Man is able in ſome Degree to help towards this ; for if the People are honeſt and careful in the Choice of their Repreſentatives, and if thoſe Repreſentatives perform their Duty, Arbitrary Power can never be ſettled here, and no Male Adminiſtration that may hereafter happen can long continue.

That we are in no Danger at preſent, and that Matters proceed well, now is allow'd, but for the ſecurity of future times it may not be amiſs frequently to repeat this Caution, that our Whole depends upon keeping one Poſt well defended.

The Publick Virtue which muſt preſerve a State is *A Conſtant and perpetual Will to do our Country Good* ; And where this Principle governs, tho in the Minds of but a Few, yet if they perſevere with undaunted Courage, the ſmall Number may prevail at laſt to defeat the Malice of the Corrupt Part, eſpecially when the Endeavours of the Few are aſſiſted by a Prince diſpos'd by Intereſt and Inclination to promote the Common Welfare.

If Good Men were but as Active and Vigilant as their Oppoſites, 'twould not be ſo eaſie a Matter to change the Conſtitution of a Country ; When thoſe who

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are concern'd in Honour and Intereſt to have things well adminiſter'd, do reſolutely and firmly joyn together to oppoſe ſuch as find their Profit by a Corrupt and looſe Adminiſtration, a Stand may at leaſt be made, and ſome Stop put to the further Progreſs of the Evil.

But tho *Pompey*, *Cæſar* and *Craſſus* compos'd a fatal Triumvirate, and united in a ſtrict League to Subvert the Liberties of *Rome*, we do not read that there was the ſame Union and good Underſtanding between *Lucullus*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and the reſt, who endeavour'd to ſave the Commonwealth, for the Luxury and Lazyneſs of ſome, the froward Temper, or Secret Ambition of Others, made 'em either neglect or obſtruct the Buſineſs of the Publick, which might be the Reaſon that *Cæſar* at laſt prevail'd.

In the ſame manner, if hereafter a Cabal of Men, in order to their own Greatneſs, ſhould deſign To change this Conſtitution, To introduce a Government by the Sword, and To give away all the Nations Wealth; And if to theſe Ends they ſhould form Aſſemblies, and there propoſe what they intend to conſent to in another Place, They will ſucceed, and their Attempts can never be withſtood, unleſs ſuch as mean *England* well, joyn in as firm

firm as League for its Preſervation, as They ſhall enter into for its Deſtruction.

If therefore, in future times, it ſhall be viſible that ſome Men, to build their own Fortunes, are Puſhing at their Countries Ruin, good Patriots muſt then exert all their Virtue, they muſt re-aſſume the Courage of their Anceſtors, they muſt lay aſide their Pleaſures, but, chiefly, they muſt Sacrifice to the Publick all their antient Animoſities; They muſt mutually forgive one another, It muſt be no more remember'd of what Party the Man was, it being ſufficient to enquire, whither or no he always acted upon the Principles of Honeſty and Honour. At ſuch a time the beſt Men of both Sides, if the Name of Parties ſhall ſtill remain, muſt ſhake hands together, with a Reſolution to withſtand the unanimous, ſubtle, and diligent Enemies of the King and Kingdom.

In ſuch a Juncture both ſides muſt contend, not which ſhall flatter higheſt, but which ſhall beſt contribute to the defence of their Princes Perſon, and to the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed Government.

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If bad Men ſhall have Meetings to conſult how they may deſtroy our Civil Rights, Good Patriots ought to meet calmly to Communicate Councils which way thoſe Rights are to be preſerv'd; for *Machiavel* ſays, *There is not a better or more ſecure Way to Suppreſs the Inſolence, or Croſs-bite the Deſigns of an Ambitious Citizen, than to take the ſame way to prevent, which he takes to advance them.*

Diſcourſes on *Livy*, C. 52.

In ſuch a Juncture not only the beſt of all Parties muſt be taken in, but we muſt be angry with no ſort of Men that are willing to unite againſt the Enemies of *England*, for in a Nation which for a long time was, as all allow, upon a diſhoneſt Intereſt, 'twill be difficult to find Perſons whoſe Characters ſhall be intirely without a Blemiſh; Nor indeed was there ever any Man perfect; At ſuch a Seaſon therefore, Men muſt place their Hopes in ſuch as have moſt Abilities, and feweſt Faults, eſpecially when they live in the Dreggs of *Romulus*, and not in the Republick of *Plato*'s Inſtitution.

If the Nobility and Gentry retain their wonted Courage, and preſerve their former Wiſdom, They will always reſcue us out of weak and polluted Hands, And will never endure that ſo Noble a Prince

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as we have now upon the Throne, eſteem'd by the whole World, and Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, ſhould at any time be diſtreſs'd at home, or interrupted abroad, in the Meaſures His high Valour purpoſes for the Good of *Europe*, by the ill Conduct of any Miniſter.

Particular Men do often miſcarry in the World, notwithſtanding that in their whole Tranſactions they give continu'd Proofs of a moſt perfect Conduct, They ſhall not be the Richer for their Thrift, nor better eſteem'd for their Integrity: Their Induſtry ſhall avail 'em nothing: Their Courage ſhall never bring 'em Victory, and their wiſeſt Councils ſhall have no Succeſs. Others in the mean time every Way deficient, of no Deſert, and meerly by the help of Fortune, ſhall ſucceed in all they undertake. But tho ſhe may be ſaid to govern thus in ſingle Events, and here and there to influence in the Actions of Private Perſons, Great Monarchies and Commonwealths do not depend uponHer.Politick Inſtitutions,prudently order'd in the beginning, and keeping on in a Steady Courſe of Wiſdom and Virtue, are out of her Power and Rule, and can never fail to proſper; And when Diſaſters happen to a State, 'tis ſeldom the work of Chance,but rather the effect of ſome Miſgovernment. For

For in former Reigns we have ſeen, that when the Kings Revenue was not well Managed it proceeded from this, that the Employments relating to it were not the Rewards of Skill, but the Recompence of another Merit, and that want of knowledge in the Managers was wink'd at while they were giving Money in another Place. Heretofore If Men betrayed their Truſt and ſold the People, it was becauſe they were largely invited to it. In former times, when the Nations Trade impair'd and went backward, the ſecret Cauſe was that theMiniſters were ſervilely to Promote the Intereſt of ſome other Country. And in the preceeding Reigns, if the Kings Treaſure was wildly diſſipated, and if exorbitant Grants were made, it came from this, that the Miniſters could refuſe no Body,having a great deal to ask for Themſelves, and that they were not to put Rubs in the Way of others, that they might more ſmoothly carry on their own Pretenſions. Theſe Inſtances are only given, not but that by many others we could ſupport this Poſition, That when the Public Treaſure is waſted, when a Nation runs into immenſe Debts, when the Land of the Crown is granted all away, when its Revenues are ill managed, and when the

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People are Corrupted, we are not altogether to blame Fortune, the Times or Accidents of the War, but rather to attribute a great Share of theſe Evils to ſome Error in the Subordinate Parts of the Adminiſtration.

Tiberius in a Letter to the Senate has this Expreſſion *Necio an Suaſurus fuerim omittere potius prævalida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adſequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares eſſemus.* The Scope of his Epiſtle is to ſhow how difficult it was for him to correct Vices, with which the Principal Men of *Rome* were tainted, and that by the Attempt he might draw Envy upon Himſelf. But tho a Cautious Prince might have reaſon to entertain ſuch a Fear, the whole Legiſlative Power of a Country need never lye under Appehenſions of the like nature. This Strength can deal with the Ambition, Avarice, Corruption and Rapine of the Great ones: The Legiſlative Authority can correct Men of Arbitrary Principles, and pull down the topping Pride of Inſolent and undertaking Miniſters, who are by no means equal to their Buſineſs, and whoſe Heads are Giddy, and turn round in the Eminence, on which Fortune, Flattery, and their other Vices, not their Merit, has plac'd them. Tacit l. 3. Ann.

And if our Affairs here ſhould ever happen to light into ſuch Hands, we muſt put our chief Hopes in the King at the Head of a Parliament.

While that Place contains Men of Courage and Public Spirit, Matters cannot long proceed amiſs. Whoever therefore undertakes that Truſt, ſhould continually have before their Eyes how much the Common Welfare depends upon their Virtues. But above all things, they ſhould have diſintereſted and ſelf-denying Minds.

It can hardly be conceiv'd, but by thoſe who have ſeen it, what Reverence is paid, even by his Enemies, to a Man of ſteady Principles, the Tenor of whoſe Words and Actions are always the ſame; who is neither to be bought nor frighted: He is admir'd and follow'd, all he ſays has its due weight, his honeſt Hoary Head is dear to all Mankind. Whereas the Whiffling Prolers after Places, and little buſie Intreaguers, are contemptible to the very Men, of whom they are the wretched Inſtruments. And let the Ambitious think what they pleaſe, that Man has moſt real Power in this Country, who is believ'd to be of the moſt unſhaken Integrity towards the Public, and He who has ſuch a Character enjoys more true

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Greatneſs than all the vain Pomp and Honors a Court can give.

The Employments of *England* are yet but few, and their Profits but Inconſiderable to what they are in ſeveral Nations, however ſmall as they ſeem to be, 'tis to be fear'd that ſome time or other they will be made the Engins wherewith bad Men will endeavour to ſubvert this Conſtitution.

'Tis true, at preſent we are out of ſuch a Danger, but if in future times we ſhould chance to ſee all Employments reſerv'd for Men in one certain Station, if the Road to Preferment ſhould lye but through one Place and Paſſage; when this happens we ſhall have Cauſe to be alarm'd, and to look about us.

They who feel within themſelves Abilities to ſerve the Public, are by no means blameable in deſiring to be upon the Stage of Buſineſs. On the contrary, that ſowr Philoſophy which makes ſome Perſons at all Seaſons retire and abandon the State, is by no means to be commended. They do indeed but *Nomine Magnifico, Segne otium velare*: If the Poſture of Affairs will poſſibly admit it, Good Men ſhould rather ſtrive to be in Power, that the Commonwealth may not be ingroſs'd by Corrupt and Unskil- Tacit L. 4. Hiſt.

ful Hands. A Wiſe Man can eaſily diſcern whither the Miniſters are ſuch, that he may with Honour and Safety mix in Councils with them. If the Adminiſtration be ſound and right, or if it has but a Face looking that way, 'tis a proper Seaſon for Men of Probity, Skill, and Virtue, to produce their Talents, and to puſh themſelves forward, in order more fully to mend Things. And at ſuch a time They ſhould be ready to aſſiſt the State with their true Senſe and right Underſtanding; nor ſhould they lazily ſuffer the Perfections of their Minds to be uſeleſs and unactive. And if among thoſe there be any very Eminent, Strong in Friends, vers'd in Affairs of State, of a deep Reach and Foreſight, Who have Eloquence to ſway Aſſemblies, and Courage to reſiſt and overcome Popular Fury, Such ought not to deſpair of the Public, but aſſiſt with their Wiſdom to redeem a People from their weak Hands, who ſhall get into Power by meer Chance, when the Nation perhaps has been in a high Ferment, as in Boyling Liquors the Scum will get uppermoſt. And there is ſuch Reverence paid to thoſe who have a very great Genius, that when they offer themſelves to ſerve the Commonwealth, the weight of the People will bear down all

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the Upſtart Pretenders, and force 'em to give way, and make Room for Merit ſo Superiour.

But if it ſhould ever happen that the Adminiſtration ſhould be intirely bad and wrong, then ought Good Men to have no Share nor hand in it, They ſhould withdraw from any Participation in the Negligence or Guilt; They ſhould quit what They cannot honourably hold; They ſhould concern themſelves no more in Buſineſs, leaving ſuch Miniſters to govern by themſelves, who will not govern well, and be contented to ſerve their Country by defending Liberty in *one Poſt* againſt any Incroachment; They ſhould not make ſo ill a Uſe of that Affection the People may bear 'em, and of the Intereſt they may have in the Nation, as to be a ſhelter for the Crimes or Folly of Others; Nor ſhould they as it were lend their Countenance, and be the Skreen behind which bad Men may ſafely attempt to undermine the Conſtitution.

If the Times are good, Silent Merit will be ſought after; but if they are bad ill Men will be lifted up to the Offices and Dignities of the State by the Applauſe of their Adherents, and the Faction of their Friends; but at ſuch a Seaſon 'tis no ſhame not to be employ'd, *Tacitus* ſpeaking of

Tacit lib. 6. Ann. *Ælius Lanira,* ſays, *Et non permiſſa Provincia Dignationem addiderat.*

Great Men are often lyable to one unfortunate Vanity: They believe their Parts, Dexterity and Wiſdom, to be ſuch, that they can mend Things, give 'em a new Complexion, Correct all Errors, and at leaſt that they ſhall preſerve themſelves ſound, tho every one elſe be tainted; And upon theſe Preſumptions, ſome of the Men in beſt Eſteem have heretofore engag'd with a foul and deprav'd Miniſtry; But we could never ſee that they were able to make any Converts: On the contrary, inſtead of changing the Court the Court did alter them.

Courts are but ſlowly mended, and that not by the Authority or Example of any Single Perſon, except it be of the Prince Himſelf, ſtrongly bent to ſet Matters upon a right Foot. And yet we have more Inſtances of Courts which have ſpoilt their Prince, than of Princes that have reform'd their Courts.

And if it be ask'd, when is the moſt proper time for Perſons of Probity and Virtue to undertake the Management of Affairs, It may be anſwered, It is then ſeaſonable when Things call loudly to be mended, when unskilful Pilots have run the Ship aground, ſo that ſhe ſticks faſt,

faſt, ready to ſplit at the next coming of the Waves, when Ignorant Men are quite bewilder'd in their Errors, when the whole People See and Feel the Effect of ill Government, when the Prince grows aſham'd of thoſe whom His Subjects hate and fear, when the Commonwealth cannot emerge out of its Debts and Difficulties, withour Help from Abler Hands, then is the true time for the beſt Men to offer themſelves to the ſervice of their Country. At ſuch a Seaſon Honeſty will not ſtand alone, weak, defenceleſs, and out of Countenance at the ſight of Proſperous Vice. Nor can Courts be ever Safe for Honeſt Men, till the Circumſtance and Neceſſity of the times bring thither a Party ſtrong enough to maintain itſelf againſt thoſe who are grown great by wicked Arts.

If *Engliſh* Men will be continent in this ſingle Point, all muſt of Courſe go well; If they who have Noble Commands in the Country will ſcorn meanly to depend in Town; If they who have brave Seats of their own will deſpiſe the crowded Antichambers of the Great Ones here; If they who have plentiful Eſtates, will ſlight a troubleſome and precarious Employment, They are more happy than a Court can make them: If our Nobility

and Gentry would consider how miserable the Noble-Men of *France* are with all their Mighty Places, they would at no time hereafter desire to wear the Livery of Bondage. And if they are truly seasoned with these Notions, That their Liberties are above all Price, and (as Sir *Benjamin Rudiard* was wont to say) *That there is nothing worth being a Knave*, the Head must be very Skilful, and the Heart very Bold, that will undertake to invade our Fundamental Rights.

'Tis true, what has been here advanc'd and what shall be said anon, may seem needless at present, when all things are presum'd to go well, but these Notions may be of Use to After Ages.

The Duty which Private Persons owe to the Public, lies in a very narrow Compass, and when that is thoroughly perform'd, a Country seldome fails to see *a steady Course of Wisdom and Honesty in such as are trusted with the Administration.* This Duty may chiefly consist in the following particulars.

1st, That such as represent the People, be Uncorrupt, Unbiass'd, and Disinterested.

2dly,

2ly, That they diligently attend the Nation's Service.

3ly, That they carefully watch any Innovation or Incroachments upon the Conſtitution.

4ly, That they make Proviſion againſt future Evils,

5ly, That they look narrowly into the Income and Expence of the Kingdom, and examin which way immenſe Debts have been contracted, and how that Money has been diſpoſed of which the Nation has already granted.

6ly, That They hold a ſtrong Hand over the Men of Buſineſs, calling thoſe to an Accompt, who, either through Folly, or upon ſome wicked Deſign, purſue deſtructive Meaſures.

1ſt, *That ſuch as repreſent the People be uncorrupt, unbyaſs'd, and Diſintereſted.* This Point we have handled ſufficiently in the Series of this Diſcourſe. And to what has been already ſaid upon that ſubject, we ſhall now only add, That *Rome* was once free, That *France* heretofore had the three Eſtates, which were the Guardians of its Liberty; That *Spain* had formerly many Rights and Priviledges, of which nothing now but the Shadow remains: That *Denmark* and *Sweden* had once Conſtitutious ſomething like

like that of *England*; and that all theſe Countries have been inſlav'd by their own Corruptions.

2ly, *That They diligently attend the Nations Service.* For otherwiſe They do not diſcharge the Truſt to which They are choſen. It has been formerly a Matter of great Wonder, that Gentlemen ſhould even waſte their Fortunes to be elected, and yet afterwards never mind that Station which they ſeem'd before ſo vehemently to covet. *Cato* had many Virtues too big for Practice, but he may be eaſily imitated in one good Quality he had, of never failing to be preſent in the Senate. Such ſhould give way to Others, and make Room for Men of more Leiſure, who cannot afford to employ all their Time in the Service of their Country. But above all others, they are to blame who can be drawn from their Duty by Luxury, Lazyneſs, and Pleaſures. Liberty can be hardly wounded in a full Houſe, the Attempts made upon it in former Reigns were made when ſuch as had no Dependance upon the Court were abſent about their Country Buſineſs. The ill Miniſters of thoſe days took that Opportunity To promote Taxes, which would never paſs in a full Aſſembly, To paſs dangerous Laws, To ſet afoot new

new invented Corporations, which may be fatal in their Conſequences, and To form Projects either deſtructive to the Nation in General, or Ruinous to particular Men. All the ill things ever done have been compaſs'd when the Negligence of ſome had made one ſide Strong and the other Weak.

And if in After Ages any of the Men of Buſineſs ſhould be ſo wicked as to proceed by the ſame Councils, and to go by the like Meaſures, they will promote their dark Deſigns in ſome ſuch Juncture, when the beſt Patriots ſhall be gone away quite tir'd out by Seſſions artificially prolong'd.

But it is the Duty of all who love *England* to defeat by unweary'd patience ſuch a Conſpiracy againſt the People; And to obviate ſuch a Miſchief, if the ordinary Rules cannot do it, extraordinary Laws may be thought on to oblige the Members to that Attendance which they owe their Country.

He who does not attend, injures the Borough for which he ſerves; for it may ſo happen, that in his Abſence a thing may paſs to their Ruin who have ſent him, and which his preſence might have prevented; His Electors therefore ſeem to have ſuch a Right to his Service as in reaſon no Others ought to diſpence with, without their Conſent.

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Deſerting in this Manner the Public is a growing Evil, upon which account it ought to have a timely Remedy. Perhaps it might not be amiſs if a Bill were brought in to make it highly Penal for any Member to be abſent from the Houſe above fourteen days, without expreſs leave firſt had under the Seal of the Borough for which he ſerves.

A great many Miſchiefs both Publick and Private would be prevented, if ſuch as repreſent their Country would be ſtrict in this Duty of attending.

3dly, *That they carefully watch an Innovation or Incroachments upon they Conſtitution.* There is nothing lulls a People more aſleep than the Reign of a good Prince, reverenc'd for his Wiſdom, fear'd for his high Courage, belov'd for his Lenity, and admir'd for a Number of other Virtues; whereas under a bad Reign the Subjects are Jealous and vigilant, tho often to little Purpoſe. However, 'tis agreed on by all Writers, that the Mild Rule of *Auguſtus*, contributed more to confirm the Slavery of *Rome*, than all the Severity and Cuning of *Tiberius*.

The beſt Times likewiſe produce the worſt Preſidents; for in good times the People let many Things ſlip, being then at

at their Eaſe, not ſuſpicious, and conſequently not watchful over the Government; but where this Supine Temper prevails, mixt Governments decline immediately into Abſolute Power. The frequent Conteſts that were of old between the Senate and People of *Rome* without doubt preſerv'd their Freedom; for where all are of one Mind, ill Uſe may be made of that Unanimity, by ſome Eloquent, Subtle, and Ambitious Man, who may turn and rule it as he pleaſes. Therefore to preſerve Conſtitutions that have a mixture in 'em of Popular Government, 'tis neceſſary there ſhould be always ſome ſmall Diviſion, juſt enough to keep the Minds of Men awake, that they may obſerve what Advantages one part of the State gets over the other.

Bad Kings provoke enow to look into their Actions, but when the People have a good Prince, they give a favourable Interpretation to all he does.

And the beſt Man that ever Reign'd may be ill ſerv'd. It is a Maxim of our Law, *That the King can do no wrong, but if any ill be committed in Matters of State, the Council; if in Matters of Juſtice, the Judges muſt anſwer for it.* But though the Laws exempt our Kings from Blame, *Declaration and Remonſtrance of Lords and Commons, May 19. 1642.*

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They are not freed from the bad Effects of ill Conduct in their Miniſters.

He therefore who repreſents his Country, cannot do the Nation nor his Prince better Service, than to ſee that thoſe who ſit at Helm, do not run the Ship upon dangerous Rocks. Abſolute Dominion is a Bait with which the greateſt Minds may be tempted; for they whoſe Goodneſs is unlimited, may deſire that their Power ſhould be ſo too. But no one Man ought to think of being Omnipotent, unleſs he could be Omniſcient and Omnipreſent. Beſides, though Princes may deſire great Power, that they may be able to do great Good, ſuch as ſerve 'em rarely proceed upon this Principle. They often deſire their Maſters ſhould be Arbitrary, in order to their own Impunity, and to build a large fortune for themſelves, for which reaſon they ſhould be watch'd in all their Windings, and follow'd in all their dark and ſubtle Mazes.

It ſeldom happens that the Liberties of a Country are Invaded all at once, The Steps of Power are leiſurely and ſlow, Miniſters who have it in their Thoughts to change the Nature of a Government, go to work by Degrees. At firſt they make uſe of the moſt Popular

pular Hands they can poſſibly procure, ordering it ſo, that the People may not perceive who 'tis that puts their Fetters on, but theſe Popular Men they ſhove out at the firſt convenient Seaſon, that all may be of a Piece. Their next Buſineſs is to corrupt ſuch Perſons as have the cleareſt Fame, whom they diſcard when ſufficiently tainted, and this they do that the People may think all Mankind alike, which naturally drives 'em to follow thoſe only who are in Power, and who can do 'em good. Afterwards they get from the Nation all the Money they can, the Collecting of which erects new Employments, and creates them a number of Dependants, who, in one certain place, are their chief Strength and beſt Support: By the diſtribution of theſe Summs, They likewiſe make more Friends. But being never out of fear of accounting for all at laſt, their Principal Aim is to procure their Maſter ſuch a ſtanding Revenue, as may make him ſubſiſt without the People's Help. If they find this impoſſible, or difficult, then by Accuſations, by Exorbitant Proceedings without any Preſident, and by harraſſing Private Perſons, either in their Fame or Fortune, they endeavour to make all the different Ranks of the People out of love with their ancient Conſtitution.

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Tacit L. 2. Hiſt. But when they have done all this, They will not yet think themſelves quite out of danger. *Senatus & Populus nunquam obſcura Nomina, etſi Aliquando obumbrentur.* They will ſtill lie under Apprehenſions of being reach'd at laſt by the Guardians of Liberty. Therefore to damp all Thoughts of Freedom, To influence the better Sort, and To awe the Vulgar, their laſt work is to procure a Standing Army.

By Manifeſt Original Contract, an Arm'd Force cannot be rais'd nor kept within this Kingdom, without Conſent of Parliament, ſo that if hereafter we ſhould be ever inſlav'd that way it is our own proper Fault.

Where Armies are Powerful, there grows a Neceſſity upon Princes, rather to pleaſe them than the People. And yet no Mercenaries are ſufficient to help a Prince againſt a Powerful Foreign Force, if the Subjects are diſoblig'd at home. *Machiavel* ſays, *That a Prince who founds the Duration of his Government upon Mercenary Troops ſhall never be firm nor ſecure.* But he counts Foreign Forces yet more dangerous, becauſe *they are always unanimous, and at the Command of other People.*

Prince Ch. 12.

Ch. 13.

If

If hereafter any Miniſters ſhould be ſo wicked, to attempt the Subverſion of our Fundamental Rights, we have here ſhown ſome of the Steps, which they will probably make, to compaſs their Deſigns. It therefore imports all good Men, to watch their firſt Invaſions and Incroachments, and betimes to intercept 'em in their Courſe.

Fourthly, That they make Proviſion againſt future Evils. The Virtues requiſite for ſuch as will handle matters of Government, have their Foundation in Wiſdom and Courage. He, whoſe Endowments of the Mind, are not ſufficient to foreſee a long while before what may be the Event of a Council, cannot conſult ſafely for his Prince; and he who at every turn is afraid of Popular Anger, ſhall never give any ſound Advice.

Virtue and Wiſdom, in ſome Senſe, are Terms Synonimous, and different Words, ſignifying the ſame thing; for no Man can be Virtuous with any Effect conducive to the Publick Good, without a rich Talent of the Mind, and ſtrong Wiſdom; nor can a Man be truly Wiſe, without ſuch Publick Virtue, as warmly embraces the Liberty, Honour and Intereſt of his Country. And when a Genius of this kind appears in any Nation, he has a Natural Right to the Offices and Dignities of the State: But if e-

ver Courts ſhall happen to be deprav'd, they will like quite another ſort of Men: Wanting true Wiſdom, they muſt ſet up ſomething in the Room of it; that is to ſay, Momentary Shifts, and ſhort Remedies; raw and unskillful Medlers in Buſineſs, are their Darlings, that will venture at all, and yet know nothing; upon which Principle they make open War with Deſert of any kind, and reckon it a great Conqueſt, when they can get rid of a wary and knowing Stateſman.

They count it ſupream Wiſdom to anſwer any ſingle Neceſſity, never regarding whether the manner of doing it be Safe, Juſt, or Honourable. They not only truſt Providence, (as all Men ſhould do) but are content to reſt wholly upon it; believing Foreſight, and Thoughts of the Future, to bring more Anxiety than Profit. They are Wiſe, as ſome Men ſubſiſt from Hand to Mouth; they think it ſufficient to live to Day, and to make Proviſion for the preſent Moment. All this perhaps may be good Philoſophy in Private Caſes; but for the whole Body of a State to go by ſuch Rules, muſt needs be very dangerous.

Prince, c. 3. *Machiavel* ſays, *The* Romans *could never reliſh the Saying, that is ſo frequent in the Mouths of our Politicians; To enjoy the preſent benefits of Time.* They either provided a-

gainſt

gainſt, or Fronted a Danger; and ſeldom let themſelves be overtaken by it: He ſays likewiſe, *That things which are diſcover'd at a diſtance, (which is done only by Prudent Men) produce little Miſchief, but what is eaſily averted: But when, through Ignorance or Inadvertency, they come to that Height, that every one diſcerns them, there is no Room for any Remedy, and the Diſeaſe is incurable.*

Cardinal *Richlieu* ſays, *It is the Duty of Miniſters of State, to Repreſent to their Maſters, That it is more neceſſary to conſider the Future, than the Preſent; and that Diſtempers are like the Enemies of a State, againſt whom Prudence obliges to march, rather than tarry till they are come, to drive 'em out again; that thoſe who do not follow this Method, will fall into great Confuſions, which it will be very difficult to remedy afterwards.* But he lays down, *That it is a common thing among weak Men, to drive off time, and to chuſe the preſerving their Eaſe for a Month, rather than to deprive themſelves of it for a while, to avoid the Trouble of many Years; which they do not conſider, becauſe they ſee only what is preſent, and do not anticipate Time by a wiſe Providence.* He farther adds, *That Miniſters, who never conſider to morrow, live happily for themſelves; but others live unhappily under them.*

Teſtament Politique du Cardinal Richlieu. P. 2. Cap. 4.

We have here cited the Authorities of two very able Men, both in the Theory and Practice of State Affairs; to ſhow how dangerous their Meaſures are, who conſult nothing but their preſent Eaſe, who love Palliating Remedies, and who are for removing from 'em the Evil Day at as great a diſtance as they can.

If we ſhould ever fall into ſuch Hands, they will not care with what Debts and Payments they load Future Times, ſo they may come at a little ready Money. They will give large *Premiums* and Intereſt, never conſidering who muſt pay the Reckoning at laſt. They will ſet afoot high Duties, never weighing how the Peoples Trade and Manufactures are thereby affected. They will not mind how profuſely they waſte the Nation's Treaſure; Negligence and Prodigality, being pleaſant and eaſie for the preſent time, tho' afterwards the Parents of Infinite Care and Trouble.

Conſtancy in denying unreaſonable Suits, Thrift for the Publick, promoting Foreign Traffick, Improving the Revenues granted, keeping the Ships of War in good Repair, laying up Stores, making Schemes for better Governmenment, retrenching all needleſs Expences, providing againſt Wars to come, making good Leagues Abroad, allaying

laying Heats and Animoſities at Home, and putting Impediments in the way of any Power that grows too faſt, are ſo many Seeds which Great and Able States-men, are always Sowing, without a Proſpect to Reap in many Years, but the Harveſt comes at laſt; and under the Conduct of ſuch Miniſters Nations Thrive and Flouriſh: Whereas, ſuch as proceed upon that narrow Notion of *Enjoying the preſent benefits of Time*; tho' they may thereby do their own Work, and make their own Fortunes, yet without doubt, they will Ruin whatever Government they undertake to Guide.

If in after Ages, they who are truſted with the Adminiſtration here, ſhould be thus careleſs and unforeſeeing, it will be the Duty of ſuch as repreſent the People; by frequent and ſerious Inquiries into the State of the Nation, and by plain Speeches, to rowſe up the Men of Buſineſs from a Lethargy, that may prove ſo Fatal; for undoubtedly, any part of the Legiſlative Authority may call upon the Executive Power, to make Proviſion againſt Future Evils.

Fifthly, That they look narrowly into the Income and Expence of the Kingdom, and examine which way Immenſe Debts have been contracted, and how that Money has been diſpos'd of, which the Nation has already granted.

The laſt Duke of *Buckingham* had many Deſigns to put the Affairs of his Eſtate in Order; and to this End he conſulted ſeveral ſorts of Men: His wife and true Friends laid before him, That no ways would be ſo effectual, as to look into his Accompts, to employ honeſt Stewards, and to live within Compaſs. But there was another Sett of People, in whom he more delighted, who made him believe they would put his Buſineſs into ſuch a Poſture, that no Negligence, nor no Profuſion ſhould do him any hurt. In ſhort, they told him directly, That they would procure for him the Philoſophers Stone. He hearken'd to 'em, minded none of his Affairs, he let his Servants do what they pleas'd, and would put no Limits to his Expences. But the Conſequence and Concluſion of all was, That His Graces evil Counſellors became Rich, and he grew Poor.

In the ſame manner, if in ſome future Reign we ſhould fall into the Hands of bad Miniſters, they will tell the Prince, that they can get for Him the *Magiſterium* (and indeed it would prove a kind of Philoſophers Stone, if they can ſo concert matters, as to obtain all the ſupplies they ſhall inſiſt on) they will perſwade Him they can maintain His Crown and Dignity out of a Mine of new Projects, never to be exhauſted, and upon

upon this View they will adviſe Him, firſt, to give *them* very large Sums to buy Limbecks, Crucibles, and Charcoal; for Utenſils muſt be had, and Workmen muſt be paid; they will promote the making Exorbitant Grants, and giving away the Crown Lands upon this Notion, That 'tis ſowing a little to reap much. They will conceal pernicious Penſions under the dark Veil of *Secret Service.* An Article that hides all. But *the Eſtimates of the Charge of the War* will be the beſt ſhelter they can poſſibly have for their Profuſions of any kind, where they may incert *Items* never to be diſprov'd, and never to be underſtood. Finding how much it turns to their own Account to have an Ample Revenue to range in, they will perſwade their Prince to ask all Things, and to ſpare nothing: And if ſuch Bad Men as have been here deſcrib'd ſhould ever come to be truſted, they will make the Body Politick faint and look pale with continual Opening of its Veins; they will leave the Crown bare, the Exchequer empty, and all the Revenues Anticipated; they will diſtreſs the Gentry, and begger the Common People; and having thus inrich'd themſelves, and impoveriſh'd all other Degrees of Men, they will reduce the Nation to be naked and defenceleſs, hardly able to ſupport it ſelf at

home, much leſs in a Condition to undergo another Foreign War.

If at any time hereafter, ſuch Men as have been here painted out, ſhould be ſuffer'd to entangle our Matters, to diſſipate our Treaſure, and to waſte the Commonwealth, where will be the Money, the Fleet, and Arms, that may be neceſſary, in caſe the French ſhould ever break the Peace, and attempt to poſſeſs themſelves of *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies?*

If by the Giddy, or rather frantick Conduct of Beardleſs Politicians, lifted perhaps up from the meaneſt Obſcurity, and ſet in a manner to hold the Reins, our Affairs ſhould hereafter be brought ſo low, (which God forbid) as that we muſt ſit ſtill, while thoſe Dominions fall into a Power already but too Dreadful, how can Univerſal Monarchy be avoided? And if *Spain* ſhould happen to be thus loſt, we are not only hurt in a point of Empire, the moſt Important of all, but the whole Trade of *England* will be cut up by the very Roots.

It may be laid down for a certain Truth, that no Man of a great Fortune, was ever undone in a few Years, but he was Cheated of much more, than he was able to Spend: And this is yet more true, if the Man had Parts, and a good Uunderſtanding. Private Men are Ruin'd, when thoſe about 'em are Unfaith-

Unfaithful, and are to Profit by their Deſtruction; and if they have no truſty Servant, that will put them in Mind of their Condition.

The ſame holds in the Affairs of a whole Nation. When a Public, that was once clear and eaſy, is overwhelm'd with Debts; when this happens among a People that have been always willing to give, and in a Miniſtry that has never been backward to aſk, when all Occaſions have been ſupply'd to their full demand, when the Prince is wiſe, and without any Expenſive Pleaſures; when ſuch a Countrey does labour under Difficulties almoſt inſuperable, and when in ſome future Reign all this ſhall be our Caſe, Mankind will entertain an Opipinion that the Adminiſtration is not right; the World will be inclin'd to think, that ſuch as ſhall then govern in the Revenue want either Fidelity or Skill; it will be thought that they have not at any time laid before their Maſter a true State of his Affairs; it will be believ'd that they have never contriv'd his Expences with Care and Wiſdom, and that they have not endeavour'd by grave and wholſome Councils to moderate his Bounties.

The Liberality of a Prince, the moſt extended we can imagin, will yet oblige but a very few; and to give it a conſtant Supply

ply, vaſt Numbers muſt be harraſs'd. Beſides, among the Vulgar, Frugality in a Court does in ſome Meaſure commute for high Taxes. Liberality is Noble in rich and quiet Times, but it will hardly be thought juſt, when what is given is to be in a manner the laſt drop of Blood in the Subjects Veins. Not to value their Treaſure has been always the Fault of Great and Heroick minds, of which many had been ruin'd every Moment, but that they had grave and honeſt Miniſters ready to keep 'em within Bounds by wholſom Advices, rugged Truths, and ſevere Virtue. And ſo the Duke of *Sully* proceeded with his Maſter *Harry* the *4th.* When a Prince is in his Nature too Bountiful, it is a Duty incumbent upon ſuch as ſerve Him, with all Humility to beg, That in his high Wiſdom he would conſider how hardly that is gather'd, which they ſhall ſee ſo lightly given: They ought rather to quit their Poſts, than to ſign or fix the Seal to immoderate Gifts. But thoſe Hands muſt be very clean themſelves, which are held up to Kings with humble Prayers, that they would have Compaſſion on their People.

'Tis true, War is a devouring Monſter, and to feed it will very much diſorder the Revenues of a Country: And yet we ſee *France* has been able for Nine Years to engage

gage all the Strongeſt Part of *Europe*, to have all the while Land Armies, conſiſting of above three hundred Thouſand Men, and to maintain a Fleet as numerous, and more expenſive than that of *England:* And after all this, they have been in a Condition to make larger Expences of all kinds (as is ſaid) than in any two Years during the War; and wee ſee 'em now in a Poſture to meditate higher Deſigns than ever. That they did bear up ſo long againſt the Confederate Strength, that they have been able Annually to expend ſuch an Immenſe Treaſure for upward now of ten Years, and that they are not at preſent quite exhauſted and impoveriſh'd, muſt without doubt proceed from the good Conduct of thoſe to whom the Management of their Affairs has been intruſted. No Man is indur'd under that Monarchy to perform the Functions and Offices of the State in an ignorant and careleſs manner. The Miniſters there are more frugal for their Maſter than in their own Concerns; they do not make too much haſt to be Rich; they are contented that a Great Fortune ſhould be the Recompence of many Services, and of long Merit. They have not let the Crown Lands of *France* be as it were a Derelict, *Et primi Occupantis:* We do not obſerve it has been ſo order'd in that Kingdom, that both the Body of the

the People and the Public too are Poor at one and the ſame Inſtant; their Miniſters have not ſuffer'd the Commonwealth to be conſum'd by Uſurious Contracts with the Common Lenders; and by their Care and Wiſdom they have obtain'd ſuch Credit, even under a Deſpotick Power, that they have not been forc'd all along to pay above 7 *per Cent.* Intereſt for Money lent the King; whereas 40 *per Cent.* has been paid for mighty Sums in one Free Goverment: ſo that upon the whole Matter, 'tis evident enough, that *this Devouring Monſter War is to be fed* where the Men of Buſineſs are Honeſt, Foreſeeing and Frugal for the State.

Mix'd Governments, among many other Excellencies, have this Advantage, that a good Adminiſtration may be obtain'd by any one part of the Conſtitution, that will ſet it ſelf ſtrongly to ſo good a Work; Kings can at all times ſet things right, if the Buſineſs of their Wars do not compel 'em to be often Abſent. Either of the Houſes, when they have ſet themſelves to inquire into, and correct Diſorders, have been terrible to the moſt Bold, Subtile, and moſt Powerful Stateſmen, that ever went about to undo a People, or to miſlead a Prince.

If in any future Reign, the Treaſure of this Kingdom ſhould be miſ-manag'd, and profuſely waſted; and if Debts, hardly to be

be waded through, ſhould be contracted; the Repreſentatives of the People may, by looking ſtrictly into all theſe Matters, perhaps immediately leſſen the publick Engagements, at leaſt they may put ſome Stop to the farther Progreſs of the Miſchief.

In ſuch a Juncture, good Men will think it their Duty, to ſee whether this Debt is not to be leſſen'd, by reviewing former Accompts; they will examine, whether the Sums already granted were not ſufficient to pay off all the Forces we have had at Land and Sea: They will inquire from whence ſuch a high Article of Arrears proceeds: They will ſee how ſo many Fonds come to be Deficient, and whether ſuch Deficiencies have not been occaſion'd by ſome ill Conduct in thoſe, who have manag'd the reſpective Branches: They will inform themſelves, which way the many Millions are gone, which the People have paid: They will deſire to know, what Neceſſities could compel the Men of Buſineſs to give ſuch large *Premiums*, and high Intereſt; and whether the Promoters of a Council ſo pernicious, did not lend their own Money; and whether they have not been Parties deeply concern'd themſelves in all uſurious Contracts: They will inquire upon what Conſideration, and for what Services, immoderate Grants of Lands and Money have been

been made, and they will do it the more ſtrictly; if, when ſuch Grants were paſs'd, it ſhould happen that the Nation was indebted, and paid heavy Taxes.

The Repreſentatives of the People can look into all theſe things; and, no Doubt, it is a Duty which they owe their Countrey, that has truſted 'em with ſo unlimited a diſpoſal of their Fortunes.

To prevent Miſmanagement in the Revenue of this Kingdom, it ſeems neceſſary that a Law ſhould be made, to put the Lords of the Treaſury under ſuch an Oath, as the Lord High Treaſurer of *England* takes; for it appears an Abſurdity in our Government, that the meaneſt Officer concern'd in the King's Revenue, ſhould be ſworn to a true, and faithful Diſcharge of his Truſt; and that the Treaſury, who are truſted with the whole, whoſe Authority is ſo boundleſs, and who have it ſo much in their Power, to hurt the Nation, ſhould be under no Oath at all. Some Objections there are againſt this; but he who conſiders 'em well, will find 'em of no weight, and that thoſe Neceſſities which have broken into, and over-rul'd the Ancient Courſe of the Exchequer, might have been avoided by Care and Conduct.

If in future Times *England* ſhould have any Grounds to doubt, that the Treaſure of the Public has been Imbezzel'd; if prodigious Fortunes, rais'd in ten Years by obſcure Men, who have had no Dealings but with the Court, ſhould Miniſter Occaſion of Suſpition; if Reſumptions ſhould be thought fit, we mean in Caſes where Perſons of no Merit have been inrich'd with the Kingdom's Spoils; if it ſhould be thought reaſonable to ſee whether any thing is to be ſav'd in an immenſe Debt, out of the unwarrantable Gains which the Lenders have made; if it ſhould be judg'd expedient to inquire into any Male-Adminiſtration in thoſe through whoſe Hands the Revenue paſſes; if it ſhould be deem'd neceſſary Thrift to look into all Penſions; if it ſhould be thought reaſonable fairly and impartially to ſtate the Accompt of ſo many Millions given and expended, ſo great and difficult a Work as a Strict Inquiry into all theſe Matters will prove, cannot be enter'd upon, and brought to a good Concluſion, but by the united Wiſdom of the Nation.

No other Power can face that Strong League, which will be made between Fellow Criminals, to ſave one another. Ordinary Remedies prevail but little againſt ſtubborn and inveterate Diſeaſes: If therefore our Affairs ſhould be ever in diſorder, the Legiſla-

Legiſlative Authority can bring the moſt effectual Helps to ſet us right.

And in ſuch a Caſe, peradventure, it may be thought adviſable to promote a Bill, That ſuch ſort of Abuſes as have been here deſcribed, and all other Male-adminiſtration of the like kind, may be inquir'd into by Committees of both Houſes, to ſit in the Interval of Parliament, with all requiſite Powers, without Salaries, and to be choſen by Ballot. And ſuppoſing paſt Errors to be too big for Correction, yet ſo Awfull an Authority, and the fear that it will from time to time be renew'd, may, for the future, be ſome Check to the growing Corruptions of the Age.

All the Premiſes conſider'd, we ſubmit it to better Judgments, whether it is not the Duty of ſuch as repreſent their Country, *To look narrowly into the Income and Expence of the Kingdom, and to examin which way immenſe Debts have been contracted, and how that Money has been diſpos'd of, which the Nation has already granted.*

Sixthly, That They ſhould hold a Strong Hand over the Men of Buſineſs, calling thoſe to an Account, who either through Folly, or upon ſome wicked Deſign, purſue deſtructive Meaſures. *Helvidius Priſcus*, after the Example of his Father-in-law *Petus Thraſea* in the Philoſophy he made uſe of to fit himſelf for the Service of his Common-

wealth

wealth, follow'd the Opinion of the Stoick, who plac'd all Good and Evil in Honeſty or Diſhoneſty, accounting the Gifts of Fortune, ſuch as high Birth, Power and Wealth, to be but things indifferent towards the conſtituting of Happineſs, which they define to be internal only in the Mind.

But tho' *Ariſtides*, *Socrates*, *Phocion*, *Publicola*, *Cincinnatus*, *Attilius Regulus*, and many others, have been great Men under a conſtant and willing Poverty; yet, without doubt, Nobility and Riches help good Spirits on of their way, and ſet 'em forward: He that is high Born, his Perfections may be ſooner taken notice of, as ſtanding upon an Eminence; and he that has Wealth need not be troubled with Private and Domeſtick Cares, and may devote all his Time and Thoughts to the Service of his Countrey.

Machiavel ſays, that a Prince, who intends to invade the Conſtitution of a Free People, takes this Courſe: *To ſubvert all, to turn every thing Topſie Turvie, and make all things new. To alter the Magiſtracy, create new Titles, Eelect new Perſons, confer new Authorities, advance the Poor, and impoveriſh the Rich. That what is ſaid of* David, *may be ſaid of him: He filled the Hungry with good Things, and the Rich he has ſent empty away. Beſides, it is his Intereſt to* *Diſcourſes on* Livy, *lib.* 1. *C.* 26.

build new Cities, to ſhift the Inhabitants from one place to another; in a Word, ſo to Toſs and Tranſpoſe every thing, that there be no Honour, Wealth, nor Preferment in the whole Province, but what is ownable to him.

Some of theſe Courſes were taken by *Harry* the 3*d.* in *France*; but his chief aim was to introduce new Perſons into ſuch Offices and Dignities of the State, as were fill'd before with the Nobility and Princes of the Blood. He rais'd out of the Duſt obſcure Perſons, who might owe to him only their Wealth and Honor, and who might look upon him as their ſecond Creator: Theſe paid him a blind Obedience; they never conſider'd what was for the Publick Good, what was Reaſonable, Safe, Expedient, Juſt, or Honeſt, but in all things did as they were commanded; with ſuch a Sett of Men this dark Prince gave the firſt Mortal Wound to the Liberties of *France*; He plac'd them ſo high as to overlook the old Gentry, who being weaken'd and depreſs'd, had neither the Intereſt nor the Courage to preſerve their Ancient Form of Government.

He has been follow'd in theſe Steps by all the French Kings his Succeſſors; ſo that under that Monarchy, in every Reign ſince, we have hardly ſeen any but the Creatures meerly of the Prince's Favour, and quite new Men upon the Stage of Buſineſs, and ſuch

ſuch have in a manner ingroſs'd all the Employments of Profit, Truſt and Honor.

We grant that in a well conſtituted Government, which is upon a right Foot indeed, neither Wealth nor Titles, and nothing but Virtue and Abilities, ſhould prefer a Man to the Honors and Employments of his Country. But when the Times are too corrupt to admit of ſuch Meaſures, the Queſtion will be, Who with moſt ſafety are to be rely'd on, they whoſe Fortunes are made, or they who are to make their Fortunes? They who have a Satiety of Titles, or they whoſe Ambition may prompt 'em to attempt any thing to advance Themſelves?

In all likelihood Countreys (whoſe deprav'd Manners will not allow 'em to lift up Virtue in Diſtreſs, and which in truth cannot find ſuch Men to ſerve em, as were *Ariſtides*, *Socrates*, and thoſe other Heroes, whom we newly mention'd;) ſhould deſire to ſee themſelves rul'd in the ſubordinate Parts of Government, by the beſt Hands that can be poſſibly got: If 'tis to be come at, they ſhould endeavour to have Places of great Honor and high Truſt, fill'd with Perſons, whoſe Birth, Eſtates, and other Circumſtances, ſeem, in Humane Probality, to ſet 'em at leaſt above the common Temptations of the World.

He who has a good Stake, will be afraid to engage in deſperate Councils; he who has a large Eſtate will not conſent to have the Laws ſubverted, which are his firmeſt Security; for where the Sword governs, Lands at beſt are held but under a precarious Title. They who are well Born will deſire to preſerve that Conſtitution, of which they and their Anceſtors have always been a Part: Inſtead of Governing and making a Figure in their Country, in all appearance they will be loath to become the contemptible Clients and Dependants of ſome Favourite or Miniſter, whom Chance or Partiality ſhall ſet above his Betters.

But they who come into a Government, with a deſign to build a Family, and make a Fortune; who are to get all, and can loſe nothing, who are chiefly recommended by their Boldneſs to Undertake, and readineſs to Comply, whom no Councils fright, and whom no Meaſures ſhock; ſuch Men are indeed the proper Inſtruments for introducing Arbitrary Power, but can hardly be thought fit Miniſters in any Nation, that is deſirous to preſerve its Freedom.

Whoever looks over our Hiſtories, will find, that all the Attempts which were heretofore made upon the Liberties of *England*, have been form'd by ſuch Perſons, as have been here deſcrib'd.

Moſt

Moſt of our former Princes having had Deſigns of Abſolute Dominion, and finding that the Men of Fortune and Figure would rather obſtruct, than promote their Intentions, thought it more conducing to their Ends to be ſerv'd by another ſort of People, and did therefore bring into the Management of their Affairs all along a Sett of Miniſters, Weak, Ambitious, Light, Deſigning, Raſh, Unskilfull in the Arts of wiſe Adminſtration, and vers'd in nothing but Craft and Tricks; but at the Head of theſe they had always ſome one that was to be the Forlorn Hope, and who would venture to go greater Lengths than any of his Companions: And for this Poſt they generally choſe a Puſhing Man of a Bold Spirit, a ready Wit, a Fluent Tongue, obſcure and low in the World, and ſuch a One whom Fortune could hardly leave in a worſe Condition than ſhe found him. Nor was it difficult to find Perſons of this Character, who would hazzard their Heads, to compaſs Power, Wealth, and Greatneſs. And tho' they could not arrive at Unlimitted Monarchy, the Philoſophers Stone, our former Stateſmen have ſo much hunted after, yet in the Search of it they found ſeveral other good Things; we mean, good for themſelves, that is to ſay, Titles and Great Eſtates. 'Tis true, many of 'em have been

interrupted in their Courſe, and the weight of the People has born 'em down at laſt. But a Man of a wretched Beginning, never heard of before, when he ſees himſelf lifted up high, ſeldom thinks of the Laws, Impeachments, and the Ax. He hopes to elude Juſtice; that the Power which ſet him on, will bring him off; and that he may be defended by his Numbers, and a Corrupted Majority devoted to him; or as his Predeceſſors have done, that he may at laſt retire full of Wealth and Crimes, and that his Guilt will be cover'd in the freſher Offences of thoſe who are to Succeed him: Or Men of this Stamp, when they have got all they can, may think to be forgiven by changing Sides; and that it will be time enough to become good Patriots, when they are no longer ſuffer'd to hurt the Commonwealth; for the Arms of the Public have been but too open to embrace ſuch a ſort of Penitents.

Upon theſe, or the like Hopes, the *Cethegi* and *Catalines* of former Times have preſum'd to attack the Liberties of *England*. It muſt therefore be a Duty incumbent upon ſuch as repreſent their Country, *To hold a Strong hand over the Men of Buſineſs.*

'Twould

'Twould be endleſs to enumerate all the Dangers that may befall a Free Government, if it ſhould have at the Head of its Affairs a Miniſter of a bold and Enterprizing Spirit, who, from a low Degree, aſpires to the higheſt Greatneſs, and whoſe Ambition is not reſtrain'd by any Private or Publick Conſiderations.

If in ſome future Reigns it ſhould be our Caſe to have ſuch a Man in a Station, and with the Power of doing much Hurt, all ſuch as deſire to preſerve their Civil Rights, ſhould with undaunted Courage ſet themſelves to ſtop him in his Career, and to intercept him in his Growth.

Machiavel ſays, *There is one Rule infallible to Princes in the Election of ſuch as are to ſerve 'em. When you obſerve your Officer more careful of himſelf than of you, and all his Actions and Deſigns pointing at his own Intereſt and Advantage, that Man will never be a good Miniſter.* *Prince*, c. 22.

We ſhall beg the Reader's Pardon for one ſhort Digreſſion in this Place, and it is to take notice of another fine Remark of the ſame Author, who ſays, *The Actions of a new Prince are liable to a ſtricter Obſervation, than if he were Hereditary; and when they are known to be Virtuous, gain more upon People, and oblige them farther than Antiquity of Blood, becauſe Men are more affect-* *Ibid.* c. 22.

ed with preſent than paſs'd things. But to return to our Matter.

Teſtament Politique du Cardinal Richlieu, p. 2. c. 3.

The *Spaniards* were in a flouriſhing Condition in *Richlieu*'s time: And in the beginning of his Miniſtry the Affairs of *France* were in great Diſorder: He wholly attributes the Proſperity of *Spain* to this Principle (running through all their Councils at that time, and prevailing with all their Miniſters) of preferring the Publick Good to Private Intereſt; and the contrary obtaining in *France*, he ſays, was the Cauſe of all their Diſorders. So that we may juſtly think the preſent Greatneſs of the *French* has taken its Riſe from this Noble Principle, having gotten, there, deeper Footing now than it had heretofore.

Miniſters, whoſe Chief Aim, in all they do, is their own Greatneſs, can neither be good for Prince nor People. And when they conſult their Private Intereſt more than the Public Good, 'tis, in many Inſtances, apparent to all the World; as for Example.

Firſt, When they take no Care of their Maſter's Revenue. For in all Countreys, and in all Ages, bad Stateſmen have thriven beſt under Princes plung'd in Debts and Difficulties.

Secondly,

Secondly, When they have made a false Step, and do not own it, and recede, but rather call in the Prince's Authority, and all his more immediate Dependants, to help 'em out, and to countenance their Errors, 'tis a Sign they have more regard to themselves, than to his Honor.

Thirdly, When they enter upon new and desperate Councils, which if they succeed well, will redound to their proper Glory; and if they should have a bad Event, may hazzard his Ruin; 'tis a plain Mark that they are ready to sacrifice his Safety to their own Vanity or Ambition.

Fourthly, When they conceal from him Truths which he ought to know; when they do not acquaint him with the State of his Affairs, nor with the true Condition of the Nation; when they do not endeavour to moderate his Expences; and when they do not quit, when sound Councils cannot prevail, 'tis an evident Proof, That they prefer keeping up their Interest, as they call it, and holding their Post and Employments, to all other Considerations whatsoever.

Fifthly, When they are ready to do any thing, let it be never so hurtful to their Master, provided it square with the Interest and Measures of the Party, of which they are at the Head, and by whom they are buoy'd

buoy'd up; 'Tis a Mark that they aim at, being independant even of the Prince himſelfe, and that they think to ſubſiſt more by the Strength of their own Faction, than by his Favour.

Sixthly, When Man to Man, and *ſingly*, they are willing to own any Errors, but ſay at the ſame time, that they were againſt this, and that, accuſing their Brethren of the State for every Miſcarriage, 'tis a Sign that provided they themſelves are well thought on, they do not care what Opinion the People entertain of the whole Govrment.

Seventhly, When they are for propoſing diſhonorable and unjuſt Shifts to raiſe Money, rather than to take the Pains of forming before hand better Schemes for Ways and Means, 'tis a Sign that they prefer the Momentary Arts of recommending themſelves to all Thoughts whatſoever, and that they conſult more their own eaſe than the Publick Good. 'Tis likewiſe an Evidence that they are not of *Richlieu*'s mind, who ſays, *That publick Adminiſtration takes up the Thoughts of Judicious Miniſters, inſomuch that the perpetual Meditations they are oblig'd to make, to foreſee and prevent the Evils that may happen, deprives them of all manner of Reſt and Contentement, excepting that which they receive in ſeeing many Sleep quietly, relying*

Teſtament Politique, p. 2. c. 4.

ing on their Watchings, and live happy by their Miſery.

Eigthly, When contrary to the Conſtitution of the Land, they promote Councils which tend to the keeping up an Arm'd Force, 'tis a ſign, that not daring to truſt the Laws, they would have their Proceedings maintain'd another way; that they deſire ſuch an Impunity as the Sword has ſeldom fail'd to give bad Miniſters in other Countries. 'Tis a Mark that their own Safety is their principal Object, and that they had rather the Nation ſhould be burthen'd with Taxes, and have the Form of Government alter'd, and that the Prince ſhould loſe his Subjects Hearts, than venture themſelves before a Free and angry People.

We have given ſome of the Marks, which ſelfiſh and deſigning Stateſmen may be known by hereafter. And if in future times it ſhould be our Caſe, to ſee Perſons of this Character upon the Stage of Buſineſs, we muſt rowſe up the Vigour of our Ancient Conſtitution, we muſt awaken all the Laws, and direct 'em boldly to the Heads of ſuch a dangerous ſort of Men.

Machiavel ſays, *That they who govern'd the State of* Florence, *from Anno* 1434, *to* 1494, *were wont to ſay, That it was neceſſary every*

Diſcourſes on Livy. *lib.* 2. *C.* 1.

every five Years to review the State, for otherwiſe it would be very hard to maintain it: They call'd reviewing the State, reducing the People to the ſame Terror and Awe as they had upon 'em of old, when every Man was puniſh'd according to his Crime, let his Quality be what it would.

He lays down likewiſe, *That Kingdoms as well as Commonwealths, have often occaſion to be reduc'd to their firſt Principles:* Which, he ſays, *was done in* France *by the Parliaments, who reviv'd the Ancient Government as often as they oppos'd the King in his Arreſts, and as often as they call'd great Delinquents to account, whoſe Crimes, if they are ſuffer'd to grow, cannot be reform'd but with Diſorder, if not the Diſſolution of the whole Government.*

For want of purſuing ſome ſuch like Courſes, the *French* have loſt their old Conſtitution, and are now under the abſolute Sway of a ſingle Perſon; and that we in *England* continue ſtill to be a free People, is without doubt chiefly owing to that Power, which our Anceſtors have from time to time exerted, of impeaching ſuch of the great Ones, as they ſaw entering upon Meaſures, which plainly tended to introduce unlimited Dominion.

We

We have been hitherto preſerv'd by pulling down ſuch Men, as were ſetting themſelves and their Maſter above the Laws; and we ſhall tranſmit to Poſterity our Civil Rights untouch'd and untainted, if we do not loſe our wonted Courage.

If therefore, in any future Reign, it ſhould be ſeen, that the Miniſters waſte the Kingdom's Treaſure, that they miſgovern or miſapply it, that they break into appropriated Fonds; that they give Advices which invade Property, and which, in their Conſequences, tend to diſaffect the People. And laſtly, that to ſecure themſelves they promote one Council, which muſt end in the ſubverſion of all the Laws; if theſe things ſhould come to appear, they who repreſent their Country will not be afraid to attack theſe bold and high Crimes with Complaints, Addreſſes and Impeachments; for if this be omitted, the Impunity ſuch Men have found will engage ſo many new Offenders, that at laſt, by their Number, they grow ſafe, and above Correction; and when this happens (as it has appear'd in the inſtance of *France*) the Liberties of a Country are intirely loſt.

When

When Matters are become unquiet, by ill Conduct, diſcerning Princes, like Wiſe Men who have a Law-ſuit, deſire to piece things up as ſoon as poſſible, and to remove the Bone of Diſſention; as ſeeing full well, That Troubles make the common People Inquiſitive, that Inquiry gives 'em Knowledge; and that when they have Knowledge, they are very hard to Govern.

But ill Miniſters often think that the beſt Courſe to ſave themſelves, is yet farther to embroil their Maſters buſineſs, not conſidering, that the more things grow diſturb'd, the greater Neceſſity there will be of ſacrificing them to appeaſe the People's Anger.

Stateſmen ſhould take great Care how they contract Publick Hatred: For both Good and Bad Kings deſert 'em at laſt, and with juſt Reaſon; for he who has not Judgment, Conduct and Wiſdom enough to avoid being odious, deſerves not to be protected by his Prince, to his own Hurt and Danger.

Is there any Inſtance of a Wiſe, Juſt, and Good King (Reigning ſo long as to have his Virtues known) who had not the Hearts and Affection of his Subjects? When Plots are form'd againſt ſuch Princes, are they not preſently defeated?

feated? And does not all Mankind deteſt the Conſpirators? And let ſome Flatterers ſay what they will, the Vulgar are not impatient of any Rule, that is tolerably fair and eaſie; at bottom they love the Splendor of a Court, and are fond of Regal Power; ſo that Kings, who will but ſtoop the leaſt to be Popular, are doated upon, and Idolis'd in every Countrey.

The ſame thing holds in relation to Miniſters, if they are honeſt, if they have a Superior Genius, if they do not make too much haſt to be rich, if they are notoriouſly ſeen to prefer the Common Welfare before their own Private Intereſt, if they are Affable and Induſtrious in doing good Offices, if by their Actions 'tis known that they do not deſire to hold their Stations upon any ignoble Terms, if they are not Haughty, Arrogant, and Inſolent, they may Rule the State without Clamors, they may grow Grey in their Dignities and Offices, the beſt Part of Mankind will be conſtantly of their Side. And if they are at any time attack'd by Private Malice upon ſome Diſobligations or Diſappointment, their Enemies will not be able to do 'em any hurt: Clouded they may be for a while, but they will ſoon ſhine out with freſher Luſtre. If by Inadvertency, and through the Frailty of humane

mane Nature, they have made falſe Steps, and committed ſmall Faults, the General Voice will be ready to excuſe 'em, and their Perfections ſhall be put in the Ballances, and outweigh their Errors.

But here it may be objected, that *Richlieu*, who was undoubtedly one of the Greateſt Men that ever undertook the Guidance of a State, and who had very near all the good Qualities neceſſary for one to whom the Reins of Empire are committed, did, notwithſtanding, lie under continual Accuſations, Popular Anger, and Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon. To which we anſwer, That this Cardinal was a good Miniſter for the *French* King, but not for *France*. He had all along Deſigns to make his Maſter Abſolute. Tis true, he endeavour'd, by his Sagacity, Care, and Deep Foreſight, to make the *French* as great and happy as a Country can poſſibly be under an unlimitted Dominion: However, his Foundation was not ſound at bottom, nor honeſt to Humane kind: He was therefore, from time to time, harras'd, interrupted and perplex'd by the few good Patriots that remain'd, who had ſtill an Eye towards their ancient Conſtitution: Some indeed joyn'd with theſe to oppoſe him, who did not act upon ſo right a Principle.

But

But when the Miniſters in the Meaſures they take to promote their Maſter's Greatneſs, conſider their Countries Freedom, when at one and the ſame time they are Truſty and Impartial Servants to Prince and Country both, when they duly Contemplate how unwiſe and wrong it is ever to let them have a divided Intereſt; Such States Men as do all this, ſtand like Rocks againſt whom the Waves, ſtir'd and mov'd forward by vulgar Breath, beat in Vain. They are ſafe, Rever'd by the beſt ſort, and the Darlings of the People; Such need not fear the ſcanning of their Actions, Popular Anger, nor the ſecret Machinations of diſcontented Perſons; Their Innocence is their ſure Guard, Arm'd with which, they are not apprehenſive of *Impeachments.*

From what has been here ſaid peradventure it will appear, that mix'd Governments are not to be long preſerved under their old Form, unleſs ſuch as repreſent their Country *Do hold a ſtrong hand over the Men of Buſineſs, calling thoſe to an Accompt, who either through Folly or upon ſome wicked Deſign, perſue Diſtructive Meaſures.*

But this high Cordial is not to be us'd upon every ſlight Occaſion; 'twas never intended by our Anceſtors to encounter

ſtempers better Cur'd another way, and to be then only Adminiſtred when the Body Politick was ſick at Heart. Nothing can be Admir'd and Awful that at every turn is expoſed to common View; *Impeachments* are the Laws Supreme Sword which ſhould be Drawn only to cut off great Offences; It ſhould hang high, with the Scabard on, over the Heads and in the View of ſuch as meddle in Matters of State, and when 'tis unſheath'd, it ſhould be in a Way and Manner ſo very Terrible, as to make all Offenders Tremble.

If in Times to come, our Affairs ſhould happen to be under an ill Adminiſtration, the Calamities that muſt thereby fall upon all Degrees of Men (thoſe excepted who ſhall have enrich'd themſelves by the Publick Spoils) will ſtir up the Legiſlative Authority to Interpoſe in looking after our future Safety.

And at ſuch a ſeaſon perhaps it will be thought the Sublimeſt Wiſdom of all, not to be angry with Perſons but to mend Things, and that it will not Import much tho the Criminal ſcape unpuniſh'd, ſo the Fault can be Corrected. The remorſe and ſhame of having, may be, in a few Years ruin'd a Rich and Flouriſhing People (for ſo the Caſe may happen) will be Puniſhment enough to thoſe who have left in 'em any ſeeds of Honour. Such

Such therefore as mean their Country well in an unhappy Juncture of this Nature, when they go to give Affairs a better Complexion, should in all likelihood begin their Work by Determining and Pronouncing **What Councils have been directly against the Law, what Advices have Tended to Impoverish the Crown and Kingdom, and what Practices have Wasted the Nations Treasure.** And when in this Solemn Manner they have Condemn'd the Offences, if they think fit, the Offenders may be reach'd with Ease.

If we should ever have a Set of States-Men whose Offences will compel the Nation to Accuse them, they will endeavour to cover their own Faults by recriminating upon the Proceedings of former times. If they are Charg'd with wasting the Publick Treasure, with giving away the Crown-Lands, with aiming at Arbitrary Power, and to Govern by the Sword, they will be so Audacious to think they stand justify'd by answering, *The same things were heretofore done.* But they ought to make this Reflection, that King *Charles* was in danger to loose his Crown, and that King *James*

actually loſt it; becauſe his Miniſters perſu'd Meaſures diſtructive to the Kingdom.

And now in a few Words to Re-capitulate the whole Matter of this long Section; If ſuch as repreſent the People are Uncorrupt, Unbyaſs'd and Diſintereſted. If they diligently attend the Nation's Service. If they carefully watch Encroachments upon the Conſtitution. If they make Proviſion againſt future Evils. If they look Narrowly into the Debts and Expences of the Nation. If they hold a ſtrong Hand over the Men of Buſineſs. And if in this Manner *Private Perſons perform their Duty to the Publick*, we ſhall not fail in all ſucceeding Times, to ſee *a ſteddy Courſe of Honeſty and Wiſdom in ſuch as are truſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs.* For it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, That States-Men will hardly be Negligent, Corrupt or Arbitrary, when they are over-look'd with careful Eyes by ſo Conſiderable a Part of the Conſtitution.

And where Things are well Adminiſter'd *That Country will always increaſe in Wealth and Power.* Have we not before our Eyes the Example of *Spain*, labouring under Publick and Private Wants, occaſion'd by nothing but a long Series of Miſgovernment? What has preſerv'd the *Venetians* for thirteen Centuries againſt ſuch Potent

Potent Leagues as have been frequently form'd againſt 'em, but that the goodneſs of their Conſtitution has enabl'd them to do great things with a very little? Would People under a Tiranny, or indeed under a better Form of Government ill manag'd, have defended themſelves with ſuch Courage as *Venice* and *Holland* have done? Did ever Countries fight ſo Bravely for their Oppreſſors, as Nations that have contended in the Defence of their own Liberties? Where Matters are in a tottering Condition, do not the People grow ſullen and loath to venture their Stocks out of their ſight? Is it not ſeen that at ſuch a time Men hoard their Mony up which ſhould Circulate in Trade? When the Subjects are under Apprehenſions that ill Conduct at home will at laſt produce Wars, Dangers and Invaſions from abroad, have they not in all Ages at ſuch a Seaſon intermitted their Foreign Traffick, Manufactures and other Buſineſs? What begets general Induſtry, but hopes to have Property preſerv'd? Is it not evident that tho here and there a Private Man accumulates great Riches under an Abſolute Monarchy, yet that the whole Body of the People is always poor and miſerable in Countries ſo Govern'd? What encourages Men, with infinite Care, Labour, and Hazzard, to ga-

gather private Wealth, which enriches the Publick at laſt, but the hopes that ſtability of Affairs, prudent Conduct, and juſt Adminiſtration, may produce Peace, Security, and laſting Empire? Where Men have a Proſpect of all this, Strangers reſort thither with their Wealth and Stocks, whereas Merchants and other Cautious Perſons abandon Countries, whoſe Follies and Corruptions ſubject 'em to continual Changes and frequent Revolutions, ſo that peradventure upon ſolid Reaſons and very juſt Grounds, we may lay down, That nothing more Contributes to make a Nation Gainers in the general Ballance of Trade, than good Laws well obſerv'd, and a conſtant Courſe of Honeſt and ſteddy Government.

As Trade and Riches have their Principal Foundation in the Liberty and Laws of a Country, ſo when thoſe great Springs go right, they ſet in Motion the Engine of a Common-Wealth, tho ſome other Wheels may happen to be out of Order.

To have the Courſe of Law and Courts of Judicature proceed uncorruptly, is ſuch a Remainder of Strength and Health, as may in time help to recover the other ſickly Parts of a Conſtitution.

So that a Nation is not deprav'd beyond all hope of Cure, which has in the Chief Seats of Judgment, Men of deep Learning,

ing, Probity, Moderation and Integrity.

We ſhall Conclude this laſt Section with ſome Advices which *Richlieu* directs to *Lewis* the 13*th*. " Unleſs Princes uſe " their utmoſt Endeavours to regulate the " divers Orders of their State; If they are " Negligent in the Choice of a good Coun- " cil; If they diſpiſe their wholeſom Ad- " vice, unleſs they take a particular Care " to become ſuch that their Example may " prove a ſpeaking Voice; If they are Neg- " ligent in Eſtabliſhing the Reign of God, " that of Reaſon, and that of Juſtice to- " gether. If they fail to protect Innocence, " to recompence Signal Services to the Pub- " lick, and to puniſh Diſobedience, and " the Crimes which trouble the Order, the " Diſcipline, and Safety of States; unleſs " they apply themſelves to foreſee and pre- " vent the Evils that may happen, and to " divert by careful Negotiations the Storms " which Clouds drive before them from a " greater Diſtance than is thought; If " Favour hinders them from making a " good choice of thoſe they Honour with " great Employments, and with the Prin- " cipal Offices of the Kingdom; If on all " Occaſions they do not prefer Publick " Intereſt to Private Advantages, tho o- " therwiſe never ſo good Livers, they will " be found more guilty than thoſe who actu-

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"actually transgress the Commands and "Laws of God, it being certain that to "omit what we are oblig'd to do, and "to commit what we ought not to do, is "the same thing.

FINIS.

JUL 5 1933